

# **THE EVOLVING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FOOD AND TOURISM:**

## **A CASE STUDY OF DEVON THROUGH THE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Management Studies.**

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Paul Cleave

## **Abstract**

The aim of this thesis is to examine the evolving relationship between food and tourism through the twentieth century. Devon, a county in the South West of England, and a popular tourist destination is used as the geographical focus of the case study. Previous studies have tended to focus on particular locations at a fixed point in time, not over the timescale of a century.

The research presents a social and economic history of food in the context of tourism. It incorporates many food related interests reflecting the topical and evolving, embracing leisure, pleasure and social history, Burnett (2004). Food is presented from the perspectives of production and consumption, not only its commercial provision in the hospitality industry, but also that emanating from the domestic, home, and farmstead.

The significance of food and tourism is emphasised by Hall and Sharples (2003), and Croce and Perri (2010) in the development of Food tourism (and Wine tourism), reflecting increasingly specialised and niche interests. However, this thesis aims to show how food and tourism encompasses, food, culture, and history, and plays an important role in the economic development of the county.

The thesis presents multiple data sources, primary and secondary, questionnaires and in-depth interviews. It utilises these in conjunction with numerous historical records and archival materials to investigate evolving trends and patterns in the food and tourism evolution. A case study demonstrates ways in which food is an experience, attraction, and motivation to visit a destination, and shows how tourism's relationship with food has evolved throughout the twentieth century.

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### List of Abbreviations

BTA	British Tourist Authority
DMO	Destination Management Organisation
DTA	Development of Tourism Act (1969)
ETB	English Tourist Board
PDO	Protected Designation of Origin
PGS	Protected Geographical Status
PGI	Protected Geographical Indication

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# **Chapter 1**

## **Introduction**

### **1.1 Food and tourism**

This thesis specifically investigates the evolution of relationships between food and tourism. It seeks to explore the twentieth century development of food tourism, to trace origins, trends and fashions in the symbiotic linkages between food production and tourism (Telfer and Wall, 1986) and to find out more about the ways in which such relationships are formed. Hall (2003: pp. xiii – xiv) suggests that for many years the understanding of the food tourism relationship was limited to the commercial provision of food for tourists in hotels, restaurants and resorts. Hjalager and Richards (2002: p.12) expand on this proposition emphasising the importance of place and locality suggesting that ‘gastronomic experiences are developed from aspects that are unique to, or only found in that region’. However food and tourism relationships have more recently been recognised as part of the local culture which tourists consume (Food 2030, 2010). In the example of Devon this is important as it extends the relationships beyond that of commercial hospitality to include agriculture, food production and experiential opportunities.

It is important to consider that tourism research is developing rapidly, and that this in many ways reflects changes within the tourism industry. The emergence of specialised and niche markets, and food tourism, stimulates and encourages research. Tribe (2005: pp. 5 - 8) describes tourism research as ‘moving from a somewhat narrow *business of tourism* approach to one that is increasingly specialised and emerging as a *post-modern field of research*’. Tribe also refers to ‘the emergence of more reflexivity and an increasing range of tourism research’. This is suggested as ‘offering a counter-balance to tourism as a business practice’, and ‘encourages researchers to follow innovative and radical lines of enquiry’. Tribe indicates that tourism research is not in ‘the grip of a restrictive paradigm’ and cites Cooper (2002) agreeing that ‘tourism research is at an important turning point in its development’.

Middleton (2005: pp. 1-2) suggests that tourism's growth in the United Kingdom through the twentieth century has many consequences. Some are allied to food, for example consumption of the tourist product, changes in diet, and eating away from home for pleasure and leisure. However the development of the relationships between food and tourism beyond commercial hospitality catering tends only to be briefly discussed. Thus it remains somewhat overlooked, resulting in an apparent gap in the historiography of the relationships between food and tourism. The investigation of the evolving relationship between two diverse and changing industries, an interrelationship, a partnership bonded by leisure and the pleasure of consumption is central to this thesis.

This thesis aspires to demonstrate how theory and practice can be used in the investigation of a temporal study, one that looks at food and tourism through a long century. Cooper (1981: p. 360) asserts that time is an ephemeral and dynamic resource and 'its value quickly enters the consciousness of the tourist'. It is the aim of this research to show how the relationships between food and tourism have evolved through the twentieth century. Davis (1971: pp. 309 – 311) suggests that by investigating the 'taken-for-granted', for example tourists eating away from home whilst on holiday, encourages the development of both theoretical and practical research.

Given the twentieth century evolution of food tourism and the food destination expounded by Boniface (2003) and Hall et al (2003) there seem to be studies that look at regions and places at one point in time but not over an extended time frame. There appears to be a lack of work in this area which looks at the evolution of the interests in food and tourism. This thesis aspires to broaden the investigation by researching food and tourism as separate entities and conjointly. It is not just food from the perspective of the tourists but also those involved in the provision of food for the tourist. Conversely it does not only focus on the food in hotels and restaurants but includes that encountered throughout the tourism experience, for example self-catering, markets and festivals, and food as a souvenir. The food tourism relationships are somewhat under-researched, undervalued and perhaps not fully understood.

For example Bessiere (1998), Ilberry and Kneafsey (2000), Ilberry and Saxena (2009), and Germann-Molz (2007) discuss food and tourism relationships but not in relation to a specific location over an extended timescale. Food and tourism have a very close relationship and food is a critical tourism resource (Henderson, 2009: p. 317), and the emergence of food tourism is regarded as important. However this thesis aims to investigate how and why this has developed using a location associated with food and tourism as a case study.

The thesis intends to explore and explain how these relationships have evolved and to identify a number of the factors which have influenced the relationships between producers, providers and consumers. These extend from food as a necessary component of the holiday to food as a reason and motivation for visiting a destination. The thesis charts the evolution and growth of food tourism. However, it is important to consider that the thesis is not just concerned with the phenomenon of food tourism per se; additionally its purpose is to discover more about the relationships between food and tourism of which food tourism is one.

In order to develop an understanding of the relationships between food and tourism it is necessary to provide a contextual background to tourism and food. This includes aspects of the social history of eating out in public through the twentieth century, and the evolution of the meal experience. The dimension of domains of hospitality is presented, identifying the domestic and commercial and their convergence as significant in tourism. The thesis looks at food in both domains and does not only focus on the commercial provision. This is important as to focus on the commercial domain would present a biased view and would ignore the broader and richer perspective which includes the domestic and rural provision. Tourists' consumption of food is associated with tourism development in the twentieth century, and its emerging patterns of leisure consumption, Green (1993).

The twentieth century focus of the research is significant as the existing nineteenth century social order and structure changed dramatically. Pimlott (1976: p. 213) suggests that in the early twentieth century a seaside holiday became 'something to strive for', appealing to the 'lower middle and artisan classes'. It is proposed that leisure and holidays in addition to the social and technical upheavals connected with the 'internal combustion engine and the 1914-18 war stimulated the appetite for change and excitement'. The consumption of food for pleasure and as a leisure activity, and the influences that have shaped these are important considerations. Other aspects include science, technology, nutrition, ethics, aesthetics, popular culture, consumerism, mass production and the move to specialist and niche markets related to food and tourism. Therefore the broader tourism environment will be presented in the context of the longitudinal study.

### **1.1.1 The Structure of the chapter**

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the food and tourism research focus of the thesis, its geographical scope and timescale. The chapter opens with an introduction to food and tourism. Section 1.2 presents the research aims and objectives and this is followed by the structure of the thesis in section 1.3. The choice and selection of data is summarised in section 1.4 including the collection of primary and secondary data. Devon as a case study is represented in section 1.5 and the chapter concludes with a synopsis of food and tourism in Devon.

## **1.2 The aims and objectives of the thesis**

As stated in the title the evolving relationship between food and tourism through the twentieth century and a case study of Devon form the focus of this thesis. Two broad aims and four research objectives identify its time frame, geographical focus and evolutionary dimensions. The aims are; firstly to research the relationships that have evolved between food and tourism in Devon related to research objectives i and iv, and secondly to show how the attraction of food in the context of Devon has developed and advanced through the twentieth century, related to research objectives ii and iii.

### **1.2.1 The research objectives**

*i) To investigate and establish the relationships between food and tourism in Devon.*

Objective 1 focuses on the relationships that are fashioned between food and tourism. It is directly linked to the first research aim researching the evolution of food and tourism relationships in Devon. Food is an essential component of the tourism experience as tourists travel and stay away from home. In addition this objective looks at the relationship between tourists, their food and place. However, it is the relationships between food and tourism, food as an attraction, motivation, experience and souvenir and their development over time that objective 1 aims to investigate and establish.

*ii) To provide an overview of the development and evolution of tourism in Devon through the twentieth century.*

Objective 2 presents an outline of Devon's tourism through a long century and develops the second research aim, to identify situations and events in the twentieth century timescale that are significant to the tourism industry and county. For example points in time related to the effects of the economic depression of the 1930s and the two world wars. The evolution of the industry and its development in the context of place is central to the thesis. Devon forms a case study which is broadened in objectives 1, 3, and 4.

***iii) To identify past and current provision of foods for tourists visiting the county of Devon.***

Objective 3 aims to identify the provision and supply of food for tourists throughout the time frame of the research. In this context food refers to that consumed during the time spent in Devon whether in hotels, cafes, restaurants, self-catering or purchased as souvenirs and gifts. It is important to note that foods for tourists may include tourist (food) attractions in addition to the evolution of eating out on holiday. Objective 3 contributes to an understanding of local trends and patterns in food provision and consumption and is directly connected to the temporal dimension of the second research aim.

***iv) To explain trends and patterns in the provision of food for tourists in Devon.***

Objective 4 aims to explain trends and patterns in food provision throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century time frame. It is bonded with the first research aim in that it investigates evolving food and tourism relationships. For example the growth in farmers' markets, food festivals, eating out and food related activities. Drawing on the temporal themes of the research, fashions and taste in food are investigated through the use of archival resources including hotel brochures, travel guides, postcards, journals and oral histories. Cullen (1994: p.4) suggests that eating out is an 'interesting phenomenon of our changing society' and that the pattern of change in Britain is 'fundamentally similar to that in other industrial societies'. The ways in which this has changed in Devon is the focus of objective 4.

### **1.3 The structure of the thesis**

The thesis is presented in 8 Chapters as shown in table 1.1. These comprise; the introduction, two literature review chapters, (one investigating the food and tourism relationship, and one exploring the background to Devon's tourism using archival resources and tourism development material). Chapter 4 expounds the selected qualitative research methods; archival data collection and oral histories. This is followed by three analysis chapters; the archival data, interviews, and Devon as a case study. The final chapter presents conclusions and opportunities for further research.

**Table 1.1 Structure of the thesis, chapters and content**

Chapter 1	Introduction and context of the research
Chapter 2	Literature and theoretical background, food and tourism
Chapter 3	Literature and theoretical background, tourism in Devon through the twentieth century
Chapter 4	Research methods and approaches
Chapter 5	Archival data and the evolution of food and tourism relationships
Chapter 6	Interviews and questionnaires; trends and patterns in food and tourism
Chapter 7	Devon case study analysis
Chapter 8	Conclusions

Source: author

#### **1.4 The choice and selection of data**

Riley and Love (2000: p. 164) state that tourism research 'reaches beyond a compilation of numbers'. This thesis supports this proposition and focuses on qualitative data collection supported by archival research as the thesis investigates an evolving relationship through the twentieth century. The use of a wide range of archival resources such as trade papers, guide books, brochures and postcards supports and enhances the historical element of the research. Collectively these are a significant resource as they span the eras of the time frame and includes materials from the public and private domains. The function of the archive is also important in the interview process, frequently stimulating discussion and assisting in the recall of memories.

### **1.5 Learning from the past and the experiences of others**

There is an important historical perspective to the research, both recent and distant. This is derived in part from charting and following an evolutionary process through a long century. History allows the researcher to investigate how and why things were done in a particular way drawing on the recent and distant past. The century has been divided into five eras, each of which is significant in terms of tourism, from the perspective of the consumer and the industry. These are structured to cover the two World Wars, economic depression and the Development of Tourism Act (1969) and the growth of global tourism. Through the data collection process elements of food, social, political and economic histories are identified in the context of tourism.

A longitudinal approach following the development of tourism through the twentieth century presents the researcher with the opportunity to investigate and explore a phenomenon through the decades of a century. By using a long century the development and evolution of an industry can be studied through many changes, political, economic, social, technological, and culinary. Other studies, for example Amilien (2005), may focus on one point in time or for a limited period but this thesis aims to investigate how relationships between food and tourism have evolved over an extended period of time.

There are potential benefits to the use of an historical study. History allows researchers to study the past, one that influenced and shaped an industry, therefore in the context of tourism the past is significant as national and global aspects shaped and affected the development of an industry on a localised basis. The development of tourism in the twentieth century is inextricably linked to social and economic changes, and not just those of the UK, but global events as tourism has developed as an international economic activity. Riley and Love (2000: p. 168) indicate that life history and historical texts are significant in qualitative research helping scholars to understand phenomena in a different way. The use of historical data in this thesis is intended to assist in explaining how and why the relationships between food and tourism have evolved, and food tourism has emerged.



## **1.6 The literature review chapters**

Two chapters are derived from literature pertaining to food, tourism and Devon. These are presented as an academic strand and a Devon strand. These endeavour to identify the historical context and relevance of the research. The chapters reveal an interest in food in the context of tourism and suggest that it is an important way of looking at a changing society, Culver (2007). However, there are gaps in the existing knowledge as food and tourism do not appear to have been investigated conjointly over an extended timescale. The tourism and hospitality sectors have been the subject of research, (Boniface 1981, Middleton, 2005), but these tend to provide an overview of the United Kingdom and do not focus on a specific region or locality such as Devon.

## **1.7 Methodology**

Research based on the personal experiences of individuals over time favours a qualitative and mixed method approach. There are benefits to be derived from using a combination of primary and secondary resources in research based on a timescale of a long century. The primary resources are derived from personal recollection and knowledge acquired through in-depth interviews conducted with those who have experienced tourism as consumers or providers. This leads to the use of life and work histories derived from the in-depth interviews.

Numerous secondary resources used in the research include archive materials and tourism ephemera. Collectively these form an important source of information and case study specific tourism archive. An archival dimension enriches the data as it is garnered from a wide variety of sources, museums, libraries, and archives. It often validates, supports and contrasts primary resources. Together with the interviews these provide a unique research resource.

The personal interviews may be regarded as an element of living history and witness to the evolving social history of twentieth century tourism. The use of oral histories through the in depth, semi-

structured interview encourages storytelling and enables the researcher to collect data rich narratives. These present tourism in the context of Devon through the twentieth century time period, and were central to the data collection process. The sample comprises tourists who have visited Devon and those who have been involved in the industry. Incorporating the dimensions of consumers and producers added great value to the case study.

## **1.8 The timescale eras**

**Table 1.2 The timescale eras**

1 The belle époque up to 1914
2 The inter-war and depression era 1918 up to 1939 (and World War Two)
3 The post-war era (WW2) from austerity to the Development of Tourism Act (1945 - 1969)
4 The 70s to 1989 review of the Development of Tourism Act
5 1990 - 2000+ The era of regeneration, green and eco growth

Source: author

By identifying the eras as shown in table 1.2 national and international trends and developments in tourism can be connected to Devon, and to food. From the growth of resorts such as Torquay and Paignton during the belle époque to their decline and subsequent regeneration at the start of the twenty-first century the county provides many examples of tourism trends and innovations. The eras are important in that they determine aspects of the data collection process. Archival data has evolved with the timescale, thus when researching era 1, the belle époque, the postcard and guidebook predominate. This is contrasted with the later eras where multiple resources such as photographic images, newsreels, holiday brochures and tourist board materials are available. An overview of the characteristics of the eras is presented below.

### **1.8.1 The belle époque**

Devon's tourism in this era had benefited from the development of its coastal resorts and increased accessibility by rail and road. For many tourists the county provided a welcome retreat from the cities or was regarded as an appealing alternative to costly continental travel. Jenks (1945: pp. 19-24) suggests that 1914 was a turning point in the history of western civilisation, 'the end of a well defined era of development and the commencement of a lengthy period of military, political and economic warfare'. In terms of tourism consumption it was to herald many changes.

### **1.8.2 The inter-war era**

This era was significant in terms of tourism as the county provided numerous opportunities for leisure and recreation in a time of economic depression. The established seaside resorts and the agricultural hinterland attracted a wide range of holiday makers. At the time of the Holidays with Pay Act 1938, Devon was popular with both holiday makers and the excursionists who flocked to the seaside resorts, many by rail. Numerous guidebooks including the *Come to Devon Guide* (c.1938: pp. 10 -11) encouraged domestic and overseas visitors to '*Venez dans le Devon*' and holiday in the county. (This era includes some references to Second World War holidays and tourism).

### **1.8.3 The post-war era**

The period of austerity following the World War Two noted a return to some of the pre-war holiday patterns but the industry was soon to be challenged by the growth in 'mass market package tours' to continental Europe. The Development of Tourism Act, 1969 saw a formalisation of government involvement in the industry, the creation of the British Tourist Authority, and investment in the hospitality sector through the Hotel Development Incentive (HDI).

### **1.8.4 The 70s and 80s**

This period was characterised by an expansion in mass tourism and overseas travel. The appeal of many traditional resorts, for example Torquay as described by Presland (1920: p.64) with its mild

climate and ‘surrounding country of much suavity and richness’, were changing in the face of competition from the growth in cheap package tours. During this era there were changes in tourism and hospitality influenced to an extent by deregulation. In the context of food this included the introduction of *nouvelle cuisine*. New styles of food production, imported foodstuffs and gastronomy liberated the industry from a somewhat rigid and traditional style and gave way to a more informal style of eating out.

### **1.8.5 The era of regeneration and green growth**

From the 1990s the industry has, in many ways, been shaped by environmental concerns which have implications for food and destination choices. As an example publications such as *Beyond the Green Horizon* published in 1992 aimed to ‘provide a tool for discussion about tourism, the environment and development’. This was significant as sustainability, food production, ethics and consumption in the context of tourism became important in the development and regeneration of many resorts, (Trewin, 2010, Bessiere, 1998).

The tourism eras are central to the thesis and its temporal focus. The thesis aims to show how relationships between food and tourism have evolved, therefore it is a food, tourism and time relationship. It is perhaps the investigation of a relationship over time that demonstrates the process of evolution in this example between food and tourism through the twentieth century.

## **1.9 Devon as a case study**

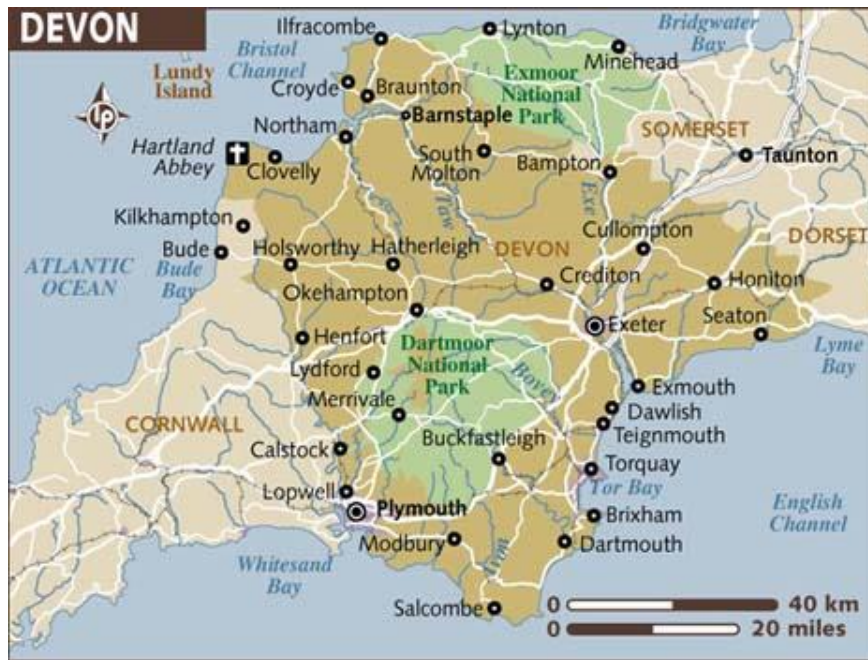


Figure 1.1, Devon, the case study location

Source, bookdrum.com

Devon was identified as a location that has a long association with tourism and food production but it does not appear to have been researched from this perspective. The fact that Devon, and parts of it have featured in other studies but not so in the context of a longitudinal study contributed to its choice as a case study.

Devon provides a focus for studying tourism from both a local and regional perspective. The county is an important tourism destination and an important centre of agricultural production. Yin (2003: p.15) suggests that a case study like other research strategies is a way of investigating an empirical topic by following a set of prescribed procedures. It affords the researcher the opportunity to use a variety of resources and techniques: surveys, historiography and archival documents. In this instance Devon as a tourist destination provides the researcher with an opportunity to investigate the factors that have contributed to Devon's development as a tourist destination.

Using Devon as a case study does not exclude elements of the United Kingdom's tourism and does not prevent the researcher from studying broader global influences that have contributed to the attraction of Devon's tourism product. It is not exclusively domestic, and has been shaped to some extent by external stimuli from other regions and countries. These include food trends, culture and

imported foodstuffs and food outlets, for example American soda fountains which are subsequently adopted, adapted or anglicised. By studying the provision of food over time there appear to be items associated with Devon's tourism such as fudge (a confection imported from America), (Davidson, 1999), which result in an eclectic, and sometimes standardised international offering. Mintz and Du Bois (2002: pp.104, 112) trace the study of food and eating in anthropology to the nineteenth century and identify it as an area of study reflecting social change, and that as people move across the globe so do foods, and is perhaps significant in an evolutionary study of society.

### **1.10 Food and tourism in Devon**

An advantage of using a long century is that it provides an opportunity to discuss the evolution of food from a period of sustenance and added pleasure to the tourists' experience in Devon, to attraction and experience of food for a sophisticated and discerning clientele. The evolution of food tourism, the experience economy and the experience of service is apposite to tourism and hospitality, (Pine and Gilmore, 1998, 1999).

Hall and Sharples (2003) at the turn of the twenty-first century discuss the growth in food tourism that is tourism motivated by the desire to experience food in some form. It is described as an extrapolation of earlier forms of tourism where food provided an interest and was regarded as a bonus, something special, but was not necessarily the major motivation for the holiday. Kastenholz (2010: pp. 313 – 314) suggests that tourists are often attracted by destination image. In tourism these frequently allude to food, and 'product and brand image play a determinant role for product-relevant decision-making'. The example of food and destination image is appropriate to Devon as a food producer and tourist destination. The English Riviera, (Holidays and short breaks 2010) advises potential visitors to 'take a fresh look at the English Riviera' (Ibid,3) and they are informed that, 'The English Riviera has now well and truly joined in the food and drink revolution, there is no faster rising star in the world of food' (Ibid,26). Visit Devon promotes the ubiquitous cream tea in its *Things to do in Devon* (2009/2010) brochure whilst suggesting that its picturesque image belies other attractions and activities.

The *Food and Drink Devon* (2010) guide perhaps indicates an important stage in the evolution of Devon as a food destination. Described as 'a comprehensive guide to eating out in Devon' it indicates

the demand for local dining out, and the interest in local foods which are described as ‘Devon’s brimming natural larder’ (p.1). In the foreword (p.2) chef Michael Caines, states that ‘Devon undoubtedly has one of the most vibrant food cultures in Great Britain’. The growth of Devon as a place to visit for its food, and the opportunities for tourists to experience its food culture are central to this thesis.

### **1.11 Conclusions**

The interest in food and food as an attraction demonstrates change and evolution in patterns of tourist consumption through the twentieth century. Pimlott (1976: pp.211 -212) heralded the interest in tourism thus, 'In 1900 the annual holiday had hardly begun to attract the attention of sociologists, it was taken for granted as a luxury which could be enjoyed at a certain level of income but which there was no special hardship in going without... yet there have been few important changes in the twentieth century which could not have been seen by a careful observer in 1900'. A century later and there is much interest in tourism and the significance of food, but much remains to be done in order to understand how and why this has developed. Murphy (1983: pp.180-181) indicates that tourism is a major agent of transformation and that wherever it occurs it changes society and its environment. Tourism development is described as a tourism time-path, a trend of evolution and change placing new values on local resources, including the local community. Food and tourism in the context of Devon form the focus of this thesis which aims to show how relationships between food and tourism have evolved through the twentieth century.



## **Chapter 2**

### **The relationship between food and tourism**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The aims of this thesis have been stated as; to research the relationships between food and tourism, and to show how the attraction of food has evolved through a timescale of the twentieth century. This chapter seeks to review literature pertaining to food and tourism and to show how the relationship has evolved. Its structure follows the evolving interest in food and tourism through the twentieth century timescale of the research. This includes the emergence of gastronomy as a dimension of tourism, the academic interests in tourism, classifying tourists according to their interest in food, the quest for authenticity and the attraction of food in the experience of tourism. A study involving food and tourism presents diverse but connected opportunities for the researcher. Macbeth and Lawry (1997: p.1) consider food an excellent topic for ‘multidisciplinary discourses, fostering an interest in the interaction of many subjects’. Selwyn (2007: pp. 48 – 72) describes the terms tourist and tourism as ‘less than perfectly clear’ but stimulating debate and discussion.

It is food and tourism that are the focus of this research. This chapter is structured in order to provide an overview of the twentieth century growth of interest in food, gastronomy and tourism. This will utilise examples from earlier decades to develop the background to the twentieth century relationships. The evolving interest in food and tourism is represented using a wide range of academic and practical examples. Within this framework are included the dimensions of hospitality, the attractions of food, and the experience of food in tourism. The chapter opens with a discussion of the evolving interest in food and tourism, leading to the growth in tourism theory and the developing relationship between food and tourism. The chapter concludes by considering the role of food in tourism as experience and souvenir.

### **2.1.1 The attraction of food in tourism**

The pursuit of food as part of the tourism experience is strongly associated with the motivation of tourists. For many tourists food forms part of the attraction of their holiday and for some it may be the major motivation. More discerning, well-informed and sophisticated tourists tend to regard eating out whilst away from home as an important social activity and part of the tourism experience. For many it will be an expectation. Telfer (1996: p.1) describes eating and drinking out as ‘possible leisure pursuits’, and that activities associated with food tend to be social and take place with others. Thus tourism provides opportunities, through food and drink, for socialising. Hall and Mitchell (2005: p.73) develop this concept stating that ‘an interest in wine and food has become a significant component of popular culture in the western world’ and that it is often an ‘important part of contemporary lifestyle’. Specific forms of food and wine consumption have become an important part of the tourism experience. In some cases this form of special interest tourism is described as a niche market in contrast to mass market consumption. Kivela and Crotts (2006: p. 354) refer to the specialised interest in food and tourism suggesting that ‘gastronomy is becoming an important attribute in the development of niche travel, and niche destinations’.

### **2.1.2 The evolving interest in food and tourism**

The growth of interest in food and tourism could be regarded as synonymous with societal changes of the twentieth century. Throughout the century food, leisure and tourism have been the focus of much research and debate. However, this does not appear to have included the relationships between food and tourism.

At the beginning of the century Burnett (2004: pp. 126 – 127) states that although the annual holiday was regarded as a luxury the practice was spreading from the middle classes to manual workers who managed to enjoy occasional ‘day outs’ . For those with a surplus over bare subsistence it is suggested that it might be spent on some form of holiday or leisure activity. This of course necessitates eating away from home and for many would probably have been their first experience of commercial hospitality whether a meal or ice-cream, candy floss and carbonated drinks. By the time of the post-war boom Owen (1966: pp. 2-5) describes the 1960s as the ‘age of mass tourism and the package deal’ and contrasts the ‘bogs of conformism’ with the advantages of independent travel. At that time these were overshadowed by the apparent advantages of the mass market system. Owen foresaw new markets for independent travel as a revival, indicating the appeal to young people (pre-backpacker) and alluding to the enjoyment of traditional food and accommodation as a motivation. By the end of the century Montanari (1994: pp. 170 – 171) contrasts the somewhat parsimonious consumption patterns of the early part of the century to an era of abundance and the ‘allure of excess’ in food which is apparent in the consumption of tourism.

The provision of food for visitors is a vital aspect of tourism and may be regarded as an economic, cultural and social activity. From an historical perspective Garnsey (1999: pp. 6-7) describes food as indicating ‘distinctions of status, power and wealth, belonging and cultural differences’. The conspicuous consumption of food by elite groups is contrasted with commensality in which food is shared and ‘assembles and binds’ together those linked by the family, class and religion. Garnsey’s propositions find parallels in twentieth century tourism and food consumption where food is often shared by tourists and reflects their social and cultural status. The decades of the timescale reveal a growing academic interest in tourism and its relationship with food. Earlier records tend to be somewhat pragmatic in contrast to the later reflections of niche markets and special interest food tourism. A growing interest in

authenticity, tradition and the experience of tourism by tourists and the industry have resulted in detailed studies of the subject. In order to discover more about the relationship between food and tourism it is crucial to refer to existing academic research, much of which has been conducted by academics in various disciplines.

The growing interest in food and tourism is recognised by Mykletun and Gyimothy (2009: p.1) who attribute this to ‘the fact that cooking and culinary consumption has gained a more prominent place in tourists’ experience and leisure consumption’. This extends beyond nutritional importance (although food and dietary related health concerns are a major consideration for many tourists) and includes symbolic meanings such as lifestyle and social identity. Local food products are suggested as providing the visitor with an opportunity to experience the culture and history and people of a place. In addition, the importance of local foods and tradition is emphasised as a means of providing culinary specialities associated with handicrafts and implying high quality standards. Home-made, hand-made, real, artisan produced and traditional methods are often used in the descriptions of the local food product.

### **2.1.3 Gastronomy in tourism**

It was not until the twentieth century that tourism became a subject for academic study. However it is important to note that earlier records and accounts of tourism have made significant and lasting contributions to the body of tourism knowledge and are of great importance to longitudinal and case studies. Black (1992: pp. 145 – 150) describes the interest in food experienced during the Grand Tour of the eighteenth century. The tourists tended to eat what was available locally, and two food regimes are identified, ‘that of the rural areas through which they travelled and that of towns’ where there was usually a greater variety and choice of food. For many the culinary experience would have been an introduction (and indeed formed part of the educational element of the Grand Tour) to new ingredients and dishes. It is an important observation as more than two hundred years later the interest in local foods and regional dishes has been revived in some ways through tourism.

The study of gastronomy is not new and is of great importance to tourism. Hegarty and O’Mahony (2001: p. 3) regard it as a ‘form of cultural expression’ and that the ‘preparation and consumption of food’ is a major human trait both an art and a ritual. Kivela and Crotts

(2009: p. 161) support the connection between tourism and gastronomy but identify a classification of culinary tourists, those who might visit a destination 'to savour its unique gastronomy'. This proposition is developed by Hjalager, et al (2002: p. 3) who assert that gastronomy is an 'essential ingredient in tourism production and consumption' and regard it as a 'significant source of identity formation in postmodern societies'. Scarpato is cited as suggesting gastronomy has long been associated with the nobility and exclusivity, but over time the concept has come to include so-called peasant food that is typical of regional and local cuisines. Richards proposes that in common with other postmodern consumers a distinct system of production, distribution and presentation has emerged. Thus, gastronomic experiences are usually developed from aspects unique to a particular region or place.

Santich (2004: pp. 17-18) suggests that interpretations of gastronomy have evolved from the early nineteenth century scientific approach of epicure and gastronome Brillat-Savarin to the 'how, when, where and why of eating and drinking', a 'broader meaning that extends to society as a whole'. Richards (2002) is cited as defining 'gastronomy as the reflexive cooking, preparation, presentation and eating of food'. This definition is expanded by Hall and Mitchell (2006: pp. 137-139) where gastronomy is described as 'the reflexive analysis of what we eat' with gastronomic tourism defined as a subset of food tourism.

The discussion of gastronomy is developed by Bourdieu (1984: p. 68) who recommends that taste is not to be confused with gastronomy. Taste is defined as the natural gift of recognising and loving perfection, but gastronomy is more complex. It is a 'set of rules which govern the cultivation and education of taste', something to be learnt and acquired over time. Bourdieu considers that 'gastronomy is to taste as grammar and literature are to the literary senses'. Bourdieu describes tastes in food in terms of the habitus and the space of lifestyles and classifiable practices including food and drink. The distinctions and culinary tastes of the working class and bourgeoisie identified provide an insight into later classifications of tourists according to their interests in food (pp. 169- 173). Fox (2007: pp. 546 - 552) illustrates the evolution and relevance of gastronomy by connecting Bourdieu's definition of gastronomy to destinations with a gastronomic identity, and introduces the so-called 'foodies' (a widely used informal term that emerged in the 1980s to describe those consumers with a *serious* interest in food) and gastrospeak, a 'systematic construct', a form of communication that enables a destination to move towards a new gastronomic identity.

Definitions of gastronomy are important as they indicate the interest in food expressed by tourists over a period of time. The subsequent classifications of tourists with a genuine

interest in food and wine such as gastronomes, gourmets and epicures are derived from earlier definitions. They can be considered to form the basis of later classifications and typologies used by tourism academics in discussing consumers of tourism and hospitality.

## **2.2 Tourism development in the United Kingdom**

The academic study of tourism emerged in the first quarter of the twentieth century. It is important to appreciate the origins and consequential growth and influence of such interests and their relevance to tourism in Devon. At this time, following in the aftermath of the First World War the concept of tourism was beginning to attract the interest of geographers, economists and politicians, particularly in Switzerland, Italy, Austria and Germany. Pinney (1944: pp. 11-20) concludes that during this period Britain was 'out of step with almost the whole body of European nations in the matter of encouraging tourism'. Other countries, unlike Britain, were investing considerable funds in the development of tourism. This included its organisation and structure, and the collection of statistical data. For example, in the 1920s the Swiss Hotel Fiduciary Society was provided with £320,000 by the state, ostensibly to improve hospitality provision, achieving this 'with great advantage'. Semmens (2005: pp. 146-149) describes the organisation of tourism in Nazi Germany as highly organised and structured but 'totalitarian', in contrast to the voluntary and association approach operating in Britain.

In those countries where the development of the industry was encouraged there were also academic advances in tourism. Swiss social scientists Hunziker and Krapf began investigations in tourism research and education in the 1940s and are described by Go (2005: p. 485) as 'early pioneers of tourism studies'. In Germany the Herrmann Esser Research Council for Tourism was established in 1939, and Christaller's Central Place Theory, published in 1933. This is regarded as significant in the progress of succeeding tourism theory and the role of tourism and recreation on the development of the peripheral areas of Europe. Following the Second World War Christaller (1964: p. 95) distinguished tourism as a branch of the economy that 'avoids central places and the agglomerations of industry'. It is important to be aware of the influences of earlier academic studies and theories developed prior to World War Two. Their influences on the development of mass tourism in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century cannot be ignored.

In contrast to other European tourism generators the structure and organisation of the United Kingdom's tourism industry was not given a more formal structure until the 1960s. Following the Development of Tourism Act DTA (1969) further specific research into tourism has been conducted providing details of tourism at both a global and local level. Holloway (1998: p. 37) suggests that the DTA introduced 'a new direction in government policy towards tourism' and that the act reflected the 'industry's growing importance to the British economy'. The social dimension of this growth should not be ignored as it is also reflected in the tourism research conducted providing researchers with tourism detail at both a global and local level. This is supported by Cohen (1984: pp. 373-375) with references to a range of theoretical approaches to tourism including tourism 'as a modern leisure activity, and commercialised hospitality'. Central to these are the relationships between host and tourist. (Host may include producers and suppliers of the tourism product). In terms of food and tourism they are significant as production and consumption rely on this relationship.

Earlier twentieth century studies and reports indicate an interest in tourism in the United Kingdom. Echtner and Jamal (1997: p. 868) write that this is the period when the study of tourism evolved, with a rapid growth in the 1970s following the DTA. However, preceding reports are important in a longitudinal study in explaining how an industry was shaped, and developed. Ogilvie (1933: p. 56) in one of the early academic studies of tourism predicted an increase in spending on services, suggesting that the 'primary significance of the tourist movement lies in the production and consumption of certain services'. These were identified

as commercial hospitality – hotels and transport. The etymology is significant in that commercial hospitality implies a more formal and structured provision rather than the casual private or domestic hospitality that many tourists encountered in farmhouses and cottages.

Jones (1970: pp. 283-5) refers to tourism as ‘one of the most important growth areas of economic activity and one that is fostered by almost every country in the world’. His study provides much period detail regarding prevailing attitudes to food and tourism, and *eating out* which he later links with tourism. He suggests that ‘it is only in the immediate past that eating out as a subject for research has stimulated anything more than token academic interest’. Norval (1936) is cited as suggesting that by the 1930s the industry had not been developed to the same extent in England as in ‘other of the continental countries’. The British Health Resorts Association in the 1938 handbook alludes to the influences and developments in health and social tourism in Germany and Italy in their descriptions of British resorts, for example Torquay (pp.136 -137). Gilbert (1939: p. 16) indicated that the growth and development of England’s inland and seaside health resorts including Torquay had formed an important feature of English urban geography. Doughill (1935: p. 265) asserted that the coastal resorts and the seaside holiday were important in terms of health, holiday and recreational purposes. They had become a ‘national institution’ and ‘irretrievably woven into the pattern of national life’. The attraction of the coast and movement to the sea Doughill suggested confirmed that ‘as a nation we had become water-front conscious’ (p.266). This is important for Devon with its extensive and contrasting coastlines and proved to be a significant and enduring attraction. However, in addition to its popular coastal resorts Devon also promoted its historic towns, rural heritage, rivers and moorland in promotional publications such as the 1938 *Come to Devon Guide* ( pp. 17, 183).

An early attempt to develop tourism was the ‘Come to Britain’ movement founded in 1926 which aimed to attract more visitors to Britain. The British Tourist Authority (1969: p. 13) refers to the 1944 Pinney report, *Britain, destination of tourists*, which had identified the countries (unlike the UK) that, prior to the Second World War, had ‘recognised the potentialities of tourism had benefited handsomely’. Pinney’s report recommended that tourism could be developed ‘after the war (post-1945) to become one of the country’s principal sources of income’. It is interesting to note that in the report Pinney (1944: pp. 48 - 50) discusses *Great Britain’s Tourist Assets* in a manner similar to that of later promotions by the British Tourist Authority and Visit Britain as Britishness. The Projection of England, a



1932 work by Sir Stephen Tallents, is cited as indicating the ‘diversity of her attractions’. These include the Monarchy, Government and landscape. Pinney draws inspiration from these recommendations and in addition suggests English farms, shooting and fishing, the landscape and heritage. He states that ‘properly presented to potential visitors these things and many more could be made to yield considerable sums of foreign exchange’. (The British Travel Association was formed in 1929 by the Department of Overseas Trade as part of a move to ‘encourage the increase of exports of every description’ including the increase of overseas visitors. Lord Hacking, Hansard, 1946.)

It took more than thirty years for the government to realise the proposal of a 1945 Ministry of Labour report that a statutory organisation be set up to ‘collect and maintain statistical information’. These relatively early reports are important in a longitudinal study as they provide details concerning tourist traffic and movement. These include existing and potential demands and they reflect, and explain, some of the key stages and interests in the development of the industry in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### **2.3 Domains of hospitality**

Richards’ definition of gastronomy (2002: p.3) includes the cooking, preparation, presentation and eating of food. It does not refer to the domains in which food is consumed that are germane to tourism, and tourists’ consumption. Ogilvie (1933), and Cohen’s (1984) references to commercialised hospitality are important as they imply the provision of food, accommodation and service on the basis of voluntary exchange. However, other forms of hospitality such as domestic and social should be considered as many commercial hospitality outlets are derived from or are influenced by these. Indeed Cohen and Avieli (2004: p. 756) suggest that many tourists seek local food that has ‘to some extent been transformed’ by a restaurant.

Whereas many tourists use highly commercialised hotels and restaurants, the demand for domestic provision is significant. Lashley (2007: pp. 221-224) suggests that some ‘hospitality businesses are commercial homes’ where the guests stay in the same dwelling as the host,

sharing their domestic space. This would include Lashley's defined micro-firms such as guest houses, farmhouses and the small hotels that predominate in an area such as Devon. The reference to home is important as this is where many tourists' experience is founded, in farmhouses, and self-catering holiday accommodation. Hemmington (2007: p.11) describes the commercial hospitality experience in terms of an economic relationship between buyers and sellers, one that is sometimes enhanced through the creation of a 'sense of generosity, theatre and performance' akin to the experience economy of Pine and Gilmore, 1998: pp. 97 – 105).

It is essential to examine Lashley's (2000) proposed three domains of hospitality in the context of the tourism experience. Slattery (2002: pp. 20-22) describes these as the social which is linked to the setting and cultural background of the experience, the private or domestic which might be focused on the home, and the commercial domain based on the reciprocity of financial exchange and economic activity. Although these can be reviewed independently there are occasions when the domains merge, are interlinked and sometimes change. In the context of Devon this could be illustrated using examples such as the small-scale and occasional provision of food and accommodation in the home which is transformed to become a larger hotel or restaurant experience. Telfer (1996: pp. 82-83) defines hospitality as the 'giving of food, drink and sometimes accommodation to people who are not regular members of a household'. Givers or hosts are described as possessing a trait of hospitableness. Hosts and guests are identified in the relationship and central to the concept is the 'sharing of one's provisions with others'. The provision of food is described as central to hospitality as it 'originally involved meeting traveller's needs' before there were commercial inns and hotels. The sharing of food is regarded as symbolic of the relationship between host and guest and the 'giving of food is a gesture of friendliness'. It is important to note that from these early examples of hospitality parallels can be drawn to the present day provision of commercial hospitality, which evolved from the domestic. The terms guest and host, and allusions to home are often used in the descriptions of commercial hospitality provision from both the perspective of consumer and provider. (In the introduction to the website of the award-winning Gidleigh Park Hotel, Devon it is described as a family-owned country house hotel, and the owners hope that, 'your experience at Gidleigh Park is more like coming home than going away'. [www.gidleigh.com/introduction.html](http://www.gidleigh.com/introduction.html) )

## **2.4 The interest of food in tourism**

Tourism necessitates eating away from home. As a result tourists often eat different foods, in different locations and environments during their time as a tourist whether for business or pleasure. Food may be consumed in restaurants and hotels as a visitor experience, and may be taken home as a souvenir. Hall and Sharples (2003: p.11) indicate that interest in food ranges from a primary interest, gourmet niche to a mass interest where food is subsidiary to other interests.

It is interesting to note that Jones (1970: p. 284) describes the establishment of a statutory tourist board as heralding a change of emphasis by government towards an industry that is important to 'the United Kingdom economy, and to the Balance of Payments, and that investment in a growth industry in which this country is extremely competitive is seen as highly desirable'. He suggests that demand for eating out facilities by overseas visitors must be related to this background. Writing in the early days of the DTA he states that until the elevation to University status of two hotel and catering departments 'academic investigation had been left to other disciplines which found the catering industry a suitable subject for study'. This has resulted in a limited amount of data from that period being accessible. Cohen (1984: p. 374) indicates that the 'study of tourism a sociological speciality rather than merely as an exotic topic emerged in the 1970s'. References to food and tourism are scarce at this time and are usually tacitly linked to the hospitality sector, hotels, catering and restaurants.

By 2000 Warde and Mariens (2000: pp. 1-2) record that there had been 'an explosion in social scientific interest in food in the last decade' and that food and its consumption could be examined according to 'nutrients, ingredients, dishes, meals or cuisines'. Ostberg (2004: pp. 39-59) discusses 'classical approaches to the study of food consumption' identifying a subfield of nutritional anthropology and food is represented as 'a means to conspicuous consumption'. Food consumption is suggested as 'including both cooking and eating' and being intertwined with many aspects of social life. Food and tourism adds other important dimensions to the study as destination, motivation and purpose of travel are considered. Food is of psychological and emotional significance and in many ways is a commentary on the changes in society.

It is essential to consider the growth of interest in food and tourism in the longitudinal context of the research. Towner (1988: p. 55) identifies frameworks and models that may be used in

such studies, these include Butler's (1980) 'cycle of tourist area evolution' and Leiper's (1979) tourism system framework 'which attempts to link the elements of tourism to the wider physical, cultural, social, economic, political, and technological environments'. The importance of the past is affirmed by Towner (1995: pp. 339-45) where the significance of the activities of the wealthy tourist is contrasted with those of the apparently routine and mundane which are also important in the evolution of tourism. The food interests of all tourists have to be considered in order to develop an understanding of the role that food plays in tourism.

#### **2.4.1 Food as a deterrent in tourism**

Although food is widely discussed in terms of being an attraction in tourism, for some it is a disincentive or impediment and might be regarded as a deterrent. Boniface (2003: p. 14) identifies 'concerns with food safety' as affecting tourists' motivations and acting as deterrents. Outbreaks of foot and mouth disease, BSE (Bovine spongiform encephalopathy) and other food scares, although often localised can adversely influence tourist behaviour and create a negative impression of the affected area. Cohen and Avieli (2004: pp.760-761) develop this theme by suggesting that local food can be an attraction for many tourists, but for some, local dishes, ingredients, customs or cookery processes might constitute a problem or impediment in their experience. Askegaard, Jensen, and Holt (1999: pp. 331-336) refer to a changing food culture and indicate that attitudes to particular foods may influence consumption. 'Modern societies' are described as 'lipophobic – scared of fat' which may be reflected in the selection of food, (and foods associated with fat) consumed on holiday. Larsen, Brun and Ogaard (2009: pp. 260-265) link tourists' concerns with fear and anxiety stating that as being a tourist 'represents a degree of unpredictability' worry may be present. Among the tourists, potential concerns might be food centred, for example the quality, and choice of restaurants, or the availability of local produce. Cohen and Avieli (2004: pp. 760 – 761) state that there is a tendency for tourists to demonstrate an 'habitual attachment to accustomed foods and cuisine', however when in unfamiliar surroundings concerns regarding health, hygiene and local customs may present an impediment rather than attraction. In many cases it is suggested that local cuisine is only presented to some tourists after considerable adaptation or transformation, either through modified ingredients or cookery processes to render the dish palatable to the target market.

Much of the food served in hotels and restaurants consists of commercialised and refined culinary adaptations of peasant and household dishes. There is a tradition of hotel food often offering a form of staged authenticity where local and traditional dishes are adapted and refined to become commercially modified, viable productions ensuring consistency, standardisation, management and profit margin. This may appeal to many tourists (especially those seeking the familiar) and is associated with hotel and restaurant chains. Baum (2005: pp.124-125) links this to the experience economy where consumers ‘are seeking an integrated bundling of products and services generating responses across a range of their intellectual, emotional and aesthetic responses’.

## **2.5 The culinary and gastronomic legacy in tourism**

The culinary past of resorts and regions is important in attracting tourists, and traditional methods of food production have considerable viability and value in the current tourist market. Frow (1991: pp. 123-151) links nostalgia in tourism to the construction of a ‘cultural other’ of modernity, ‘a mythology of the primitive, the folk, and the peasant’ which are manifested in representations and appropriations of the past. The heritage industry, Frow writes, has become an important piece of machinery for the ‘construction of tradition’ encountered by tourists in their search for culinary authenticity. Warde (1997: p. 63) proposes that the tourist industry often excels in the ‘re-creation or invention’ of events, rituals or

practices in order to attract visitors, and that local foods and customs have played a role. Kim (2005: pp. 85-88) suggests that nostalgia can be 'divided into two domains personal nostalgia and historical nostalgia'. This distinction is important as it represents a complex yearning for the past, the former for the past that the individual has experienced, for example childhood and the latter for the distant past, one beyond living memory and experienced vicariously through popular media such as film, novel and television. In terms of food, nostalgia for the past can be seen from the packaging of souvenirs to the presentation of food at themed attractions, for example historic sites such as the National Trust where recipes and dishes connected to a property are included on the menu. It is important to note that food can be linked to a region and consequently to the experience and attractions of tourism using elements of the past.

Nostalgic and evocative images are often used in tourism marketing. The past may be represented using the semiotics of gastronomic tradition, and culture linked to food, agriculture and landscape. Smith (2000: p. 506) describes nostalgia as a universal experience and part of the human condition, a yearning for the past and 'one that does not always accord with the facts'. A predisposition to nostalgia and the constructed past alludes to tourists' interest, and quest, for the authentic. Selwyn (2007: pp. 48-72) describes a 'traditional, golden age' and that many 'human beings in the present, (and perhaps with disenchanted world of Weber) look back with nostalgia at that age'. The significance of nostalgia in tourism is noted by Caton and Santos (2007: p. 372) as juxtaposing constructions of the past with particular constructions of the present. These tend to associate the past with 'positive effects such as beauty, pleasure and joy' the present tends to be viewed as 'less promising and engaging'. In terms of food, nostalgia for former methods of farming and food production are often used in promotional materials and marketing. (A tourism destination or region may be noted for its tradition in the production of specific foods, such as the dairy produce of the west country of England.) This links nostalgic legacy to place and the tourism destination.

Snepenger, Snepenger, Dalbey and Wessol (2007: pp. 319-320) describe tourist destinations as being extended service encounters. The successful tourism destination is suggested as requiring 'critical masses of interrelated public and private sector suppliers to compete' in order to provide superior experiences. An understanding of the consumption characteristics is therefore considered essential for tourism planners and it must be appreciated that tourism at a destination is 'more than the simple exchange between buyer and seller'.

Bailey (1989: p. 107) notes the ‘historians’ growing appreciation of the complexity of leisure’s role in social change’. A study of leisure (and tourism) history advances our understanding of the development of the industry. Bailey proposes that ‘social historians have engaged with other disciplines on trying to interpret social phenomena’. In terms of studying the relationship between food and tourism this would be desirable in developing an understanding of the growth of interest through the twentieth century timescale of the research.

Within the historical context of tourism Burkart and Medlik (1984) and Middleton (2005) discuss the development of tourism, but with little reference to the role that food has played. Inglis (2000: pp. 59-67) identifies a search for luxury in tourism which is described in the history of the holiday from the 1840s. Luxury, it is suggested, arises ‘when we find delight in a surplus beyond the satisfaction of a basic need’. The plenty and favour of the vacationers’ menu are noted as a tale ‘defined by social class, nation and location’. From the early accounts of holidays and travel food and accommodation (hospitality) are frequently mentioned. Boniface (2003: pp. 23, 113-116) describes aspects of food and drink as a ‘leisure destination’ and as representing ‘nostalgia for another way of life’. For many tourists it is a way of life unfamiliar to them, one stimulated by the powerful imagery and legend of tourism’s history. The examples of farming, country house estates, old style hotels and restaurants are often encountered in tourism. In Devon, the restored art deco glamour of the Burgh Island Hotel is promoted using nostalgic and evocative images of its former royal and celebrity patrons. Seymour (1974: pp. 77 - 78) writing before the era of post-modernism, whilst recognising the potential interest and value of its period describes the hotel in 1974 thus, ‘a huge 1920s period hotel of hideous aspect, where there were four hotel servants to each guest’. Tastes change and evolve, thirty years later the hotel is appreciated as a unique example of period architecture. Gould (1998: pp. 25) states that the iconic hotel started life as a holiday house in 1929 and was later transformed ‘with a lavish extravagance of art deco decoration’ and machicolations’.

Boniface (2003: 116 – 118) writes that the ritual of afternoon tea is used as a popular example in tourism as ‘an experience that is essentially new heritage, regarded with enthusiasm and affection and has become a major tourist attraction’. For example in Devon the ubiquitous ‘Devonshire cream tea’ has become synonymous with the tourism experience, a regional variation of a culinary ritual popular with tourists. Cuthill (2007: pp. 64-66) emphasises the

importance of hospitality spaces and places in the tourism experience. These, it is suggested, can be ‘tasted through the consumption of place-branded products and by participation in co-present eating and drinking experiences in venues imagined as typical of place’. Whether in a rural or urban location, restaurant, café or farmhouse such spaces are an important feature in the evolution of the relationship between food and tourism. The identity of regional foods and the protection of their uniqueness not only emphasises the association place and locality but also confers a status, for example the Protected Designation of Origin PDO, and Protected Geographical Indication, PGI of regional foods including clotted cream, cider, Stilton cheese or other products produced within the European Union.

The past influences and shapes the future. In tourism the past is often used as a marketing proposition, undoubtedly attracting many tourists. Historical references in tourism literature indicate the long-term and evolving interest in food and tourism. For example in the south west of England nostalgic images of rural Devon, its Riviera and rusticity are popular semiotics used to promote the region and are frequently linked to food. Hewison (1987: p. 9) describes the growth of the heritage industry in the late 1980s suggesting that heritage is being manufactured as a commodity. Food it is stated provides another tangible dimension to many of these attractions either in themed restaurants or as souvenirs. The link between food and tourism is also made by Mennell (1985: p. 158) where the mobility of the travelling classes encouraged them to eat out and use public restaurants and hotels. This has resulted in a form of ‘culinary pluralism’ by the 1980s with a ‘greater variety and differentiation in food’.

## **2.6 The quest for local food, authenticity and reality in the tourism experience**

The term *local* is widely used in the tourism industry and academic literature in connection with food. Weatherell, Tregear and Allinson (2003: pp. 233-244) write that in ‘developed countries a body of consumers is emerging whose heightened awareness and concerns’ about food production is ‘leading them to buy local foods and, or engage in alternative food systems’. (In doing so they also have an opportunity to engage with local producers and



community.) Although the term *local* is significant to industry and consumers its understanding is however somewhat unclear. Within the UK for example research carried out for the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (MAFF) and the Countryside Agency (CA) in 2001 (p.11) suggests that consumers ‘often have a very vague view of what local means’. Increased use of the term regional, it is suggested, adds to this lack of clarity. The food and tourism industries increasingly employ terms that may contribute to this lack of understanding; real, traditional, local and authentic appear subjectively and unqualified in numerous publications.

Academic debate regarding the use of such terms is important in a longitudinal and evolutionary study. MacCannell (1973: pp. 597-598) states that although many tourists demand authenticity in their tourist experience it is often difficult for them to distinguish between genuine and staged authenticity. Writing at a time of change in the tourism and hospitality industries, it is important to consider the growing interest in authenticity. It was during the 1970s that the commercial provision of food in hotels and restaurants began to move away from its nineteenth century traditions and pretensions to the more individual style of *nouvelle cuisine*. This style of cookery emanated from France and placed a greater emphasis on the creativity of the *chef* (who began to emerge as a media celebrity at this time) and the combination, cooking and presentation of ingredients rather than the production of traditional ‘hotel food’. Such a culinary transformation presented the hospitality industry with the opportunity to provide more local food and dishes. In spite of this establishments continued to provide a culinary bubble for tourists with aspects of local cuisine that are specially prepared for them, MacCannell’s staged authenticity. Much of the tourism experience, especially in hotels and restaurants, is staged. This is described by Spang (2000: p. 75) as an important feature of the first restaurants opened in the early nineteenth century ‘with their exquisite furnishings, varied menus, and flexible business hours restaurateurs offered their customers (including English and American tourists who identified these public spaces, restaurants as particularly ‘French’, p. 175) distractions for the spirit and solace for the digestion’. The Parisian template was to become global in its culinary influence both for diners and the industry.

The attraction of the real or authentic in tourism is important to many tourists. It may be the motivation to visit a region. This can be extended to food which can enhance the destination, providing opportunities for tourists to experience and consume local foods, customs and culture. Barrow (2008: pp. 1-4) links real and authentic stating that ‘*real* erases the negative

connotations of *old*'. Semantics might suggest numerous opportunities for the use of the term old in tourism, the *oldest*, and *old style* can have positive connotations.

The quest for local food has seen a number of initiatives that aim to provide a traditional product for tourists. These include The Cyprus Tourism Organisation which has recently launched a food project, *VAKHIS* that aims to promote 'authentic Cypriot cuisine' as part of the tourist experience. Such initiatives would help to meet some tourists' quest for the authentic, but to what extent would the experience be staged for them?

Tourists may be encouraged to consume local foods whilst on holiday. At destinations local foods are often promoted at attractions, in the retail (including souvenirs) and hospitality sectors. Kim, Eves, and Scales (2009: pp. 425-430) identify nine local food and drink motivational factors. These range from exciting experience, escape from routine, health, learning, authenticity, togetherness, prestige, sensory appeal to the physical environment. Motivation has been an important topic in tourism studies and is regarded as a starting point for studying tourist behaviour and beyond that for understanding tourism systems, Pearce and Lee (2005: p. 226).

### **2.6.1 Authenticity, heritage, food and tourism**

The debates regarding authenticity and tourism have developed throughout the decades following MacCannell's seminal work of the 1970s. The concept of authenticity has played a 'prominent role in understanding tourist motivation and experience', Kim and Jamal (2007: p.182). Macleod (2006: p.179) contrasts MacCannell's work on authenticity with that of Daniel Boorstin. In referring to tourists that are 'actively in search of the pseudo-event, a

contrived and artificial experience' distinctions of authenticity become apparent. These are widely discussed in academia. Peterson (2005: pp. 1084 - 1085) suggests that the promotion of authenticity in tourism may be linked to the creation of something traditional for the sake of tourists in an era of global homogenising. As 'the social and cultural characteristics of places are obscured' the creation or fabrication of authenticity may result in attractions contrived for tourists. Lu and Fine (1995: p. 541) maintain that many consumers 'desire the illusion of authenticity' in the experience of tourism. This is not unusual and examples can be found in many areas of tourism and hospitality. Influential hotelier Cesar Ritz to whom the concept of the twentieth century international luxury hotel style is attributed is said to have learnt early in his career in the mid nineteenth century, 'the power of imagination and the value of illusion', (Ritz 1938: p. 60). His skills were compared to those of a conjurer but were not merely superficial, they were important in creating an enduring hospitality environment that attracted a discerning clientèle including tourists. Sedmak and Mihalic (2008: p. 1010) affirm the important role of authenticity in tourism but indicate that it is perhaps a contested term due to the 'variety of viewpoints, contexts and situations in which it is applied' and that 'authenticity is not equally important for all tourists and destinations'.

Sharpley (2003: chapter 7, p. 2) proposes that the concept of authenticity has become ambiguous and that the term is used to describe 'everything which comprises a country's culture'. This includes cuisine, heritage, festivals and rituals which are important features of cultural identity. The experience of heritage is affirmed by Chhabra (2005: p. 65) who cites Waitt (2000) as defining authenticity as historic or connected to the past. McIntosh and Prentice (1999: pp. 593-598) also connect authenticity with the past identifying at a superficial level that 'pastness' is sometimes presented with an emphasis of style over substance, 'playing with the idea of period' mixing past with present, a 'creative anachronism'.

From a food and culinary perspective this is important as references to earlier periods (and decades) are repeatedly used in connection with authenticity. Allusions to the past are a recurring theme in connection with food. Chronis and Hampton (2008: pp. 111-118) develop the theme of heritage and authenticity in describing the authentic experience of heritage attractions. Authenticity in such sites, it is suggested, can be manifested in five ways, 'object related, factual, personage, locational and contextual'. Such aspects of authenticity are important as they illustrate the 'complex and shifting concept of authenticity'. Crang (1996:

p. 415) observes that sometimes a superficial image of the past is used to portray a pastoral myth in heritage attractions. Waitt (2000: p. 836) notes that a common criticism of heritage environments is that what is 'marketed as history is just one version of the truth'.

The authenticity debate has been expanded as its significance is appreciated. Wang (1999: pp. 350 - 356) discusses the use of the term stating that authenticity is not a matter of 'black or white but involves a much wider spectrum, rich in ambiguous colours'. This analogy illustrates the complexity of the term, and Wang suggests three further classifications which are presented as objective referring to the authenticity of originals, the constructive as a form of symbolic authenticity, and the existential. The latter Wang suggests is the authenticity of *Being* to 'be sampled as the process of tourism unfolds'. Kim and Jamal (2007: p.185) support Wang's proposal citing Olsen's (2002: p.176) definition of an authentic state of being achieved by the 'construction of a context where the relationship between buyer and seller is different to that which people in the Western world associate with tourism'.

Authenticity is a recurring theme and much debated in the context of food and tourism. Steiner and Reisinger (2005: p. 312) state that not all tourists are 'looking for opportunities to be authentic or experience authenticity in others'. Authenticity is thus represented as a choice.

### **2.6.2 The emergence of food tourism**

The potential for local and regional food in tourism is widely recognised. The meaning of the food experience and its consumption in a tourism context can be seen to have expanded greatly in the late twentieth century. Du Rand and Heath (2006: p. 206) state that it is only since the mid 1990s that 'governments, researchers and industry have recognised the strong relationship between food, culture and tourism'. They indicate that food tourism has 'ceased

to be only concerned with the provision of food for tourists in restaurants, hotels and resorts'. Boniface is cited as regarding 'culture, both past and present as an inevitable part of food tourism'. The term *Food tourism* emerged towards the end of the twentieth century. Prior to this food is associated with tourism rather than presented as a type or classification of tourism. Food tourism reflects change, and the interests of a new generation of tourists in food beyond its physiological function. Tikkanen (2007: pp. 721-731) describes different categories of food tourism using Maslow's 1943 hierarchy of needs demonstrating how these can be used to illustrate different categories, and interpretations, of food tourism. The original hierarchy uses five goals, physiological, safety, social, esteem and self-actualisation. These are then presented as forms of food tourism ranging from international cruising tourism based on physiological needs and food conference tourism based on self-actualising needs. It is important to note that such classifications not only demonstrate a differentiation of food tourism, but also tourists which is further developed in typologies and classifications.

### **2.6.3 Food tourists, classifications and typologies**

Recent literature classifies tourists according to their level of interest in food. With the continued growth, diversification and specialisation in tourism and food it is perhaps inevitable that tourists will be placed into categories or typologies according to their gastronomic characteristics. An interest in food encapsulates many aspects of food production and consumption and is often linked to lifestyle, health, environmental, and ethical concerns. The interest can range from the food consumed in commercial outlets to other food-based activities and experiences such as festivals, cookery schools, and food as a souvenir.

Gillespie (2001: p. 2) argues that 'for many individuals gastronomy is a hypothetical construct' consisting of groups of functionally related behaviour, attitudes, processes and experiences. Gastronomy might be defined simply as 'the study of food', but this oversimplification is refined by the identification of two key determinants of modern gastronomy, '*gastro-geography* and *gastro-history*'. Gillespie proposes *gastrophily* as the new science combining place with culinary tradition. In terms of tourism this is important as place and tradition are key motivators for many tourists and can be linked to food, and subsequently culinary classifications of tourists.

There are numerous classifications of tourists according to their interest in food. Kivela and Crofts (2006: pp. 356-359) identify the connection between gastronomy and tourism but state that 'little is known about gastronomy tourists'. Hjalager (2003) is cited as identifying four categories of gastronomy tourists, recreational, existential, diversionary and experimental. These are important as they illustrate the growth of interest in food as a part of the holiday experience. In terms of food it is suggested the recreationalists would look for the familiar, in contrast to the existentialists who would actively seek the authentic, traditional and local. (The diversionary tourists are those who want to 'escape from mundanity' and would look for popular chain restaurants). The experimental gastronomy tourist is described as following popular trends, seeking smart fashionable restaurants.

Boyne, Hall and Williams (2003: pp. 145 -148) propose fourfold taxonomy in order to classify tourists according to their interests in gastronomy. These range from type 1 for whom gastronomy is an important element of their holiday to type 4 whom it is suggested have no interest in gastronomy at all. An earlier survey conducted for the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food and the Countryside Agency (MAFF/CA) refers to attitudes regarding local and regional foods. Holidaymakers were classified as ranging from 'food tourists to the unengaged and laggards'. Although somewhat rudimentary it does suggest that levels of interest in food are variable, and that some tourists are not interested beyond the familiar. Hall and Mitchell (2006: p. 138) describe the food tourists as those who seek local food and drink at a destination and are motivated by local food whereas the food 'laggards' are the group who claim they have no interest in local food and are considered unlikely to purchase any during their holiday. However, the 'laggards' may have passively consumed local foods despite their indifference.

Stanley Plog's model/typology of allocentricity and psychocentricity, (2001: p. 16) is often cited in tourism literature and text books. Plog suggested that tourist behaviour might be related to personality type identifying two categories, the allocentric and the psychocentric. The model uses three classifications, allocentric tourists willing to try new experiences and the psychocentric seeking the routine and familiar. In between are the mid-centric who are nominally adventurous. In relation to food the allocentric might look for new and novel food experiences and search for the authentic. Conversely the psychocentric tourist is considered to search for more familiar foods and would not be so interested in local dishes and culinary customs. Cohen describes the search for tradition and novelty in food in biological terms. The

neophobic are presented as disliking new or unfamiliar foods in contrast to the neophylic who search for new, novel and strange foods. Lepp and Gibson (2007: pp. 740-742) have referred to earlier classifications of Plog and Cohen in a discussion of 'Sensation Seeking' tourists. These are likely to be independent and adventurous, close to those of Plog's allocentricity.

Such classifications are important in developing an understanding of tourists and their motivations, deterrents, preferences and interests in food. Van Raij (1986: p. 2) suggests that consumer preferences are complex, and that they 'are partly dependent on what is available in the market' and might be influenced by earlier experiences or the experiences of others. Although by classifying consumers they may be placed into groups these are a basis from which their tourism characteristics can be examined. These will change over time and provide an explanation of change in taste and expectations.

## **2.7 The interest in local food, food customs and traditions**

The communication of the local, traditional, real and genuine in terms of food is of increasing importance to tourism and the tourist. The attraction of food markets, fairs and festivals appears to be gaining in popularity, and appeal to many tourists. For example in Devon, as in other rural locations these are not new but they have evolved and expanded during the

twentieth century timescale of the research. O'Sullivan and Jackson (2002: p. 326) describe the growth of festival tourism as an 'emerging giant' from the 1980s and as a phenomenon in which people from 'outside a locale visit during the festival period'. Lee, Lee, Lee and Babin (2008: p. 56) depict the festival environment as providing unique business opportunities due to the 'festivalscape where the festival benefits are produced and consumed'. Tellstrom, Gustafsson and Mossberg (2005: pp. 346-347) identify the emergence of support for local food as 'an expression of regional culture and identity'. Food is regarded as a means of 'communicating a sense of place or regional identity'. It is also regarded as being important in the creation of destinations for food tourists and those who 'seek authentic food experiences' maybe those described as embodying a bygone peasant way of life.

### **2.7.1 Regional foods, tourism and the international dimension**

Lawson, writing in VisitBritain's *Insights* (2003) proposes that in many countries food and drink is regarded as a 'critical element of the visitor experience if not an attraction in its own right'. In Britain there are 'distinct culinary traditions' but these have not been popularised, tending to be overshadowed by those of other countries. There are similar examples to be found where the positive aspects of the tourism product are negated by the images and perceptions of poor quality and service. The potential for regional foods in the context of tourism is presented by Swarbrooke and Horner (1998: pp.43-50). In their assessment of the role of food and tourism it is stated that 'traditionally food in the UK has too often been seen as a weakness in the tourism product'. However the potential is recognised as food and drink are described as playing 'a major role in the tourism industry'. Writing at the end of the twentieth century Swarbrooke and Horner believe there is still 'great scope for this role. It is recommended that learning from other countries where food and drink has been 'successfully used to enhance the tourism product' would help achieve this aim thus raising the profile of both food and tourism. An *ad hoc* survey conducted by Swarbrooke and Horner indicated that 'food and drink has too often a low profile or even no profile at all in tourism brochures and guides'. The proliferation of local and regional food guides (For example the Trencherman's guide) in the early twenty-first century indicate that this is changing,

By 2000 Whitehead and Johnson (2000: pp. 131-136) report that 'the agri-food sector accounts for almost 8% of the UK Gross Domestic Profit' and that producers and increasingly



products 'are becoming an integral part of tourism packages'. In order to raise the profile of local produce further Whitehead advocates local sourcing in tourism. This, it is suggested, would promote and protect the food and drink heritage of different regions and is seen as a means of strengthening the synergy between traditional food and drink producers and tourism.

Lockwood (2006: p. 393) indicates the development and evolution of food tourism from a local level when a community decides to use their food as a 'focal point to attract visitors'. In some food-producing regions the food festival can be regarded as an attraction for both residents and tourists, providing a culinary interface for host and visitor. This view is supported by Hall and Sharples (2003: pp. 13-14) who regard the relationship between food and tourism as an opportunity for product development and rural diversification. Wood (2001) is cited as advocating that outsider interest, in addition to that of the local population, may 'encourage community pride, reinforcing local identity and culture'. The growth and specialisation in local and regional food festivals, markets and trails appears to support this proposition.

### **2.7.2 Learning from the experience of others**

There is much to be learnt from the experience of other countries and their approaches to tourism development. Bessiere (1998: p. 32) identifies a 'social demand for tourism and

gastronomy' in rural France. Changes in rural areas have resulted in a 'return to the countryside'. It is suggested that the promotion or *valorisation* of culinary heritage is not just a fashionable trend but is of social and economic significance. Telfer and Wall (1996: p. 635) advocate the use of local foods in tourism suggesting that an increased reliance on local food resources by 'expanding the backward economic linkages could enhance the benefits of tourism – and producers'. The importance of local food is affirmed by Haukenland and Jacobsen (2001: p.1) who state that food is 'frequently seen as an emblem of distinctiveness, when tourists choose local food and beverage they literally taste the elements of the visited area's character'. Such examples are to an extent being applied to the diversity, rural character and culinary heritage of regions in the United Kingdom and will be examined in the context of Devon in chapter 7. The interest in local food and the rural economy are critical in connecting tourists to the food destination.

Hjalager and Richards (2002: p. 3) develop the proposals of Bessiere (1998) and Telfer and Wall (1996) by indicating that 'gastronomy is an essential ingredient in tourism production and consumption'. Local culture is suggested as becoming a valuable source of new products and services that may be used to attract tourists. Food (in its many forms) is emerging as an important tourism activity and motivator. This is of particular importance to rural areas where the farm becomes a focus for tourism activity. Busby and Rendle (2000: p. 659) acknowledge this but recommend that a 'level of real agricultural activity' be retained to 'safeguard the traditional ambience' of the farm and tourism. Telfer and Wall (2000: p. 443) develop the theme of local produce emphasising the importance of smaller scale local outlets for food supplies. Shaw and Williams (2002: p. 274) refer to the important role of rural areas in tourism in the developed world describing rural areas as being 'highly esteemed as locales for leisure and tourism'. It is important to note the descriptions of rural tourism as being diverse, thus implying scope for uniqueness and differentiation in the tourism product. Jarvis, Dunham and Bilberry (2001: pp. 59-69) indicate that many small businesses might benefit from a rural image. They suggest a 'paradox of rurality' and that elements of rurality can aid the success of some businesses as in the example of small scale production of food products.

## **2.8 Food and tourism in the trade press**

An additional and valuable source of information regarding the development of the food and tourism relationship can be garnered from the grey area of the commercial trade press.

Throughout the timescale of the research numerous trade publications have, to an extent, guided, informed and been a platform for sharing ideas in the hospitality and tourism industry. Mennell (1985: p. 183) writes that in England, unlike France, it does not seem to 'have been possible to establish a large circulation paper with food on a pedestal'. Thus the content of the trade press tends to reflect many prevailing trends and interests, including food. Although there are food specific publications such as *The British Baker* these target those concerned with commercial production.

The *Caterer and Hotelkeeper* is the longest surviving example of the British trade press concerned with hotels, restaurants, hospitality management and not only with food. Food is dealt with both as a commodity and a culinary vehicle for change and innovation. Its appeal to various levels and departments of management is significant and influential in the commercial sector.

The involvement of the trade press can be illustrated using the period from the time of the introduction of the Development of Tourism Act in 1969. Its journalists were writing about advances in tourism, and to demonstrate its relationship with the industry the *Caterer and Hotelkeeper* (1968: p. 15) noted that resorts were 'urged to adapt to the car age, and the move towards self-catering holidays'. Mennell (1985: p. 195) regards the 1960s as heralding a time of change in the commercial catering trade, with reports of innovation, technological and social change regularly featured in the press.

In July (1968: p. 15) Sir William Crawford overseas manager of the British Travel Association, stressed the important role of caterers in tourism alluding to the significance of food. By 1969 the *Caterer and Hotelkeeper* reported that 'hotels were promised a voice on the new tourist boards'. The English Tourist Board, ETB hinted at a two counties tourist organisation covering Devon and Cornwall, however the ETB Chairman Sir Mark Henig described Cornwall as the 'crown jewel of tourism'.

There is little reference to food and tourism at this time. Articles and features about food tended to focus on innovations and processing such as self-service systems and frozen foods rather than local and traditional produce. However these are important indicators of prevailing trends. Where tourism is mentioned it is usually in association with the accommodation sector of the industry. The menus (many from tourist resort establishments in

Devon) that were a regular contribution to the journal are invariably written in the culinary French prevailing at the time with occasional appearances of regional foods. For tourists the menu forms an extension or addition to the guidebook when they include examples of local and regional produce. (A wine list usually provides details of geographical origin, source and vintage but menus have tended to overlook equivalent data.)

David Billeter (1976: pp. 33-35) wrote of the demise of afternoon tea, 'a sad truth that afternoon tea possibly the last remaining British culinary experience outside of a cooked breakfast is not a good enough profit maker to justify its perpetuation'. It was noted that tea at the Ritz Hotel in London epitomized a uniquely British catering operation (at £1.80 per afternoon tea) but the manager of the Manor House Hotel, Moreton Hampstead in Devon reported a small (10%) profit on every 75p afternoon tea. Cohen and Avieli (2004: pp. 765-771) suggest that the menu is often a 'simplified register', the 'culinary equivalent of a geographical map guiding the customer through the fare offered by the establishment'. Changes in culinary styles were described in the *Caterer and Hotelkeeper's Goodbye butter and cream* (Anon 1976; pp.33-36). Chef Michel Guerard's 'new cookery method (soon to be titled *Nouvelle Cuisine*) which may well be regarded as heresy has found its way into British kitchens and the press' (Ibid 33- 36). Regarded with some scepticism by many this proved to be an important innovation for the industry and consumers. 'New dishes on classic lines' liberated chefs from the formalities of haute cuisine encouraging creativity and the use of local produce.

During the mid 1970s the *Caterer and Hotelkeeper* reported a growth in leisure. A leisure boom was forecast by 1977. The *Caterer* (1975: p. 31) indicated that eating out would increase from 3.8% of leisure spending in 1974 to 4.8% by 1984. The relationship between tourism and the hospitality industry is evident at this time, but the interest in food as a tourist attraction and element of this relationship is not. Taylor (1978: pp. 86-92) assesses the mid twentieth century changes and trends in catering provision. In describing the evolution of commercial hospitality the interwar period is described as 'for the masses it was teashops and the landlady's cooking at the seaside on holiday'. For tourists coming to Britain in the 1920s 'the Savoy and other luxury hotels did introduce some American dishes to please their visitors'. The American influence was noted in Devon at this time with the introduction of soda fountains in some cafes, (Chapter 7, plate 2). He concludes that by the 1970s the public had higher expectations and that 'younger customers - 45% of tourists to Britain in 1976 were

under 35 years of age will be looking for more excitement when they eat out'. In addition to good quality food and drink an element of entertainment was needed to challenge the 'alternative attraction of television'. In terms of *quality* this is not defined, and the attraction of local or regional food is not mentioned. Although the way in which the element of entertainment was to be included is not extrapolated it is prophetic, implying that the experience of food might be enhanced as in the experience economy of the late twentieth century.

Prior to the DTA, articles and features in the trade press tended to emphasize the economic impacts of tourism rather than the social. By 1999 tourism was described by the Department of Culture Media and Sport (1999: p. 53) as a 'growth industry for the new millennium'. The industry was encouraged to 'maximise tourism's potential to benefit local communities'. Local produce (including food) and labour were suggested as means of spreading the benefits of tourism throughout the UK tourism regions.

Visit Britain (2003: pp. 5-10) acknowledges that food and drink is regarded by many destinations as a 'key feature' of the tourism experience. Destinations with a 'strong and distinctive culture such as France, Italy, Spain and Thailand use it as a motivator to attract first time and repeat visitors'. Britain, it is argued, also has an interesting and diverse food and drink story, but this has not been 'consistently nurtured and promoted for the benefit of international visitors'. At this point the newly formed Visit Britain was taking a 'long-term view of the considerable opportunities for food and drink tourism in Britain'. Food and drink was used in overseas marketing campaigns to enable visitors to 'get the best out of a stay in Britain'.

It is important to consider the commentaries and observations of the trade press as they provide indicators of change and trends, both of consumers and industry. These are vital in developing an understanding of the evolutionary relationship between food and tourism.

## **2.9 The tourist souvenir, resort and resource**

Food is an important souvenir for tourists and may be linked to conceptions, memories and images of the destination. Food souvenirs are extensive ranging from the ‘mass produced’ authentic to high quality local items. However, each may be perceived to be authentic according to the tourist’s preconceptions. Schouten (2006: p. 191) states that ‘souvenirs as well as experiences are conceived as being authentic when they reflect the perceived core values of the visited destination’. Morgan and Pritchard (2005: pp. 29-53) describe the souvenir as a ‘touchstone of memory’ and that they are able to ‘bring the past into the present’. The food souvenir becomes a tangible reminder of the holiday experience. It provides an opportunity for sharing the holiday experience with others, and reliving it for the tourist. Local products may present a benefit of rurality for some tourism businesses, and for those seeking authenticity an opportunity to acquire local and traditional products.

As a consequence of the rise in mass tourism of the 1950s there was a renewed interest in food, and food as a souvenir of the experience. At this time post war tourists were recovering from an extended period of rationing, ‘make-do-and-mend’, shortages and austerity. The foods sampled in sunnier holiday environments were for many a major attraction. *Air France, Flying Holidays* (1952: p.8) assured passengers that ‘Air France prides itself on its cuisine’; they were reminded that every flight to Paris in the Air Restaurant would be an experience ‘which cannot fail to put you in the holiday mood’. Prior to this dishes such as mushrooms in Chablis, chicken in orange, and vintage champagne on the menu may have been enjoyed vicariously through the experience of travel writers or cookery writers, notably Elizabeth David’s, *A book of Mediterranean Food* (1950). Mais (1960: pp. 47 -56) provides many examples of the attractions of food to tourists on a ‘continental coach tour’. Whilst in Italy truffles and polenta (maize flour) are described and a full a la carte menu included, but the food market in Rapallo is noted as having a ‘countrified atmosphere, where they sell every imaginable fruit and vegetable’. Many of the dishes and ingredients he describes would have been difficult to find in England at that time.

Travel guidebooks, for example the 1964 *Europa (Motoring) Touring* (1964: p. 496) guide provide culinary information for travellers including descriptions of hotels and restaurants. Food and wine in Italy is described as receiving great attention ‘whether it be for a frugal meal in a peasant’s house or a banquet’. In contrast, the *Bon Viveur Guide to holidays in Europe* (1964: pp. 182 -183) offered detailed and informed advice to tourists regarding ‘eating and drinking’. *Bon Viveur* (alias Fanny and Johnnie Cradock, the celebrity food and

wine duo of the day) reflect that ‘very few people are dedicated enough to demand an eating holiday regardless of other considerations’ and that the travelling public should not expect ‘foreigners to provide us with the kind of food we enjoy at home’, (Ibid 182- 183). It is important to note that at this time although tastes were changing as the public travelled more, the foods and culinary customs of their destinations may have appeared novel and unfamiliar. There is an allusion to the food tourism of the late twentieth century in their descriptive term, *eating holiday*. This somewhat idiosyncratic guide asserts that in France the ‘entire nation is acutely food-conscious on a level unequalled by any other race’. From the early twentieth century travel guides references linked to food and travel can be found. These are valuable in that they not only provide details of the prevailing styles of gastronomy but also of tourist’s tastes. An early twentieth century example of ‘food tourism’ is provided by one who travelled to eat, Colonel Newnham-Davis. (His 1897 restaurant column for The Pall Mall Gazette was among the first dining reviews to appear regularly.) The Gourmet’s Guide to Europe, Newnham-Davis (1911: pp. viii) provides a unique glimpse of haute cuisine and bourgeois gastronomy at the zenith of the belle-époque. The guide was written to inform ‘Anglo-Saxons of both sexes, who take an interest in the cookery and food of the countries they pass through’, and did not wish to take all their meals in the hotel where they were staying. From the finest restaurants in France to the food of Imperial Russia the reader is well advised regarding the quality of food, wine and service (including the ambience of the establishment) to be encountered. Although the term ‘food tourism’ was unknown at this time it is interesting to note that the detail Newnham-Davis and his ‘epicurean brotherhood’ provided resonates with the food guides of a century later.

Tourists having sampled delicacies and specialities on their travels often brought home food and wine as a souvenir. The descriptions of local foods and specialities included in many of the travel guides often included recommendations of foods to bring home. The Europa Touring Guide (1964: p. 335) offered information regarding tourist shopping suggesting that the souvenirs in France ranged from a ‘small cast iron Eiffel Tower to the pate de foie gras of Alsace’. Throughout the 1960s and 70s with the proliferation of themed restaurants, a wider range of imported foodstuffs available to purchase and numerous cookery books and food columns in the media, they would be able to recreate some of the dishes at home or eat them in a restaurant.

The experience of shopping becomes an important tourist activity. Yuksel and Yuksel (2007: p. 703) describe shopping as ‘one of the most pervasive activities engaged in by tourists’. It is

also regarded as having ‘significant economic, psychological and social benefits’ and can generate employment for the host community. Tourist shopping is regarded by many as an important leisure activity and a ‘way of fulfilling part of their need for leisure and tourism’ Revilla and Dodd (2003: p. 95). Much of tourist shopping is for souvenirs, often food-based commoditized products. Cohen (1988: p. 381) advises that in the production of commoditized cultural products they can lose their ‘intrinsic meaning and value for local people’, however some skills and products may be revived in the process of commoditisation. Wessley (2002: p. 6) distinguishes between shopping tourism and tourists’ shopping by defining the former as travel with the aim of buying goods unavailable at home or cheaper than those at home. Whilst considering shopping for food souvenirs the aromas associated with food should not be ignored. These are often evocative, reviving memories of earlier holidays. Dann and Jacobsen (2003: pp. 3-4) advise that the way in which rural and urban settings are ‘aromatically portrayed’ can attract or repel tourists and are an important part of the ‘polysensual nature of tourism’. Food aromas are repeatedly described in tourist literature and frequently linked to destinations such as markets and food outlets. Haukenland and Jacobsen (2001: p. 1) support this association suggesting that the ‘appearance of, smell, and flavour of raw materials are appealing to a variety of human senses, and contribute to a perception of local distinctiveness’.

## **2.10 The souvenir as a resource**



A valuable secondary resource for researchers in tourism using a specific location is that of personal correspondence. Postcards, holiday journals and letters written whilst on holiday often contain references to food. These were frequently retained as souvenirs or mementoes. Numerous postcards and photographs can be found depicting food, hotels, cafes and restaurants. In the case of the West Country, perhaps the *cream tea* is the most widely used nostalgic semiotic. Chi (1997: pp. 65-66) links nostalgia with tourism in the quest for authenticity 'in its emphasis on tradition and historical significance'. Chi cites MacCannell who considers authenticity to be an effect of the marking of sights by the mechanical reproduction of postcards. An early twentieth century series of postcards produced by *Valentine* appear to portray authentic Devonshire dishes such as clotted cream and junket in seemingly vernacular settings reinforcing the association between food and the countryside. Although these are a rather scarce resource, they can provide clues to the significance of food in the holiday experience, and tourists' quest for authentic food.

### **2.11 The experience and servicescape of tourism**

The tourist encounters many situations in which food may be purchased. From hotel, café or restaurant to souvenir stall and food festival the choice of food products and outlets is diverse. The service environment is of great importance and can be associated with heritage, and the experience of consumption. Marshall and Bell (2003: p. 63) consider the relationship between meal occasion, eating location and food choice as complex. In tourism this may include the experience of food activities other than formal meals such as food shopping and food-based tourist attractions, for example cheese making or cookery schools. In hospitality and tourism there are numerous examples of the food-related servicescape. Bitner (1992: pp. 55 - 71) emphasises the 'ability of the physical environment to influence behaviour and to create an image' as being of significance to the hospitality sector. This is of particular importance in the experience of eating out, and in tourism. Clarke and Schmidt (1995: pp. 149 – 155) state that the customer is involved throughout the service encounter, engaging in a form of interplay between the 'customer, the inanimate environment, staff and other customers'. Quan and Wang (2004: p. 297) write that tourists are demanding a 'higher standard in quality services particularly for quality food and hospitality'. As tourism provides numerous opportunities for eating out the elements of service assume greater importance,

(Pine and Gilmore, 1998. Burnett, 2004: pp. 119 – 121) describes the development of mass catering provision and outlets as contributing to the experience of eating out, and eating for pleasure. The experience of consumption is an important aspect of tourism, and of particular relevance in the consumption of food.

## **2.12 Conclusions**

The evolving interests in food and tourism are reflected throughout the literature. The eras of the timescale identify trends in the provision of food that can be linked to the experience of tourism. From the growth of mass-market consumption to specialist niches and the experience economy the relationship between food and tourism can be traced. Food and tourism are represented conjointly as a diverse and versatile means of regenerating local business, crafts and agriculture. Shaw and Williams, (2004: pp. 134 -136) discuss changes in the industry suggesting that by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century tourism is ‘characterised by its global dimensions and increasing complexity’ and note the ‘different forms of tourism consumption that have emerged since the 1980s’. Some of these are considered ‘reflexive as in nature as experiences and types of tourism have evolved’.

Alterations in food consumption and reflexivity are reflected by Ostberg (2004: pp. 39 – 48) as being of interest and importance to social science researchers because food consumption is complex, including far more than cooking and eating. It is of emotional and psychological significance and ‘is closely intertwined with many aspects of social life’. In many ways food (and tourism) provides a culinary commentary on contemporary culture. Changes in food habits are described as a stage in the development of a conscious reflexivity by Guthman (2003: p. 46). Reflexive consumers are described as those whom in essence ‘pay attention to how food is made’ and that the knowledge acquired influences ‘taste’ and demand for particular food products. Beckett and Nyak (2008: p. 302) state that reflexive consumption is regarded as liberating consumers, offering a new form of freedom where individuality is expressed through their consumption choices. ‘Modern individuals actively construct their identity through their consumption choices’.

Tourism literature frequently refers to tourists and food, and the role it has played in their tourism experiences. Increased specialisation in the food and tourism product and the

experience of tourism has identified typologies and classifications of tourists ranging in levels of interest. From the definitions of gastronomes and epicures used in early tourism to the specialist and niche attributions of the twenty-first century the evolving interest in food is represented. Stebbins (1996) uses the term 'serious leisure' to describe those tourists with a deep interest in a topic and who are likely to acquire knowledge about their holiday destination and activities.

However, there are gaps in the literature. The depth and complexity of the relationships, and significance of food in the context of tourism tends not to be expanded. In general it does not focus on a geographical area, thereby the relationship between food and tourism is under represented terms of place. Where food is featured it has a propensity to be at a particular place or point in time and not over a longitudinal period. References to food appear to be general rather than using specific examples of outlets, ingredients, composite dishes or food products. Although the distinction between commercial and domestic hospitality is identified it tends not to be developed and their convergence overlooked. The scope of food in its relationships with tourism is not fully developed.

It is inevitable that tourism will encompass food in its many forms and that the relationships and interests will evolve over time. It is a complex, enduring and evolving connection. Food cannot be separated from tourism, and during the 20<sup>th</sup> century timescale of the research this association has developed rapidly.

### **Chapter 3**

## **The background to food and tourism in Devon**

### **3.1 Introduction**

Devon has attracted visitors for many years. As a major tourist attraction in the West Country it is steeped in history, heritage and folklore. With its diverse and contrasting landscape tourism evolved from the early days of exclusive spas and genteel seaside resorts in the early nineteenth century to the later rapid growth of mass tourism.

An important part of the attraction for visitors to the county has been its food. Often as rich and varied as its heritage and landscape, it is frequently mentioned in their recollections and writing. From the time of the Roman and Norman invasions the economy of the county has been influenced by its international trade and agriculture. In the twenty-first century the economy of the county is arguably still dependent on trade that unites food and travel.

Employing a timescale of the twentieth century provides an opportunity to review and analyse the evolving relationship between two industries, food and tourism. The historical dimension to the research is important in an evolutionary and longitudinal study. Historical studies of food and tourism have been conducted before but tend to exclude the potential links between the two. Bailey (1989: p. 107) notes ‘historians’ growing appreciation of the complexity of leisure’s role in social change’. A study of leisure (and tourism) history advances our understanding of the development of the industry. Bailey proposes that ‘social historians have engaged with other disciplines on trying to interpret social phenomena’. In terms of investigating the evolving relationships between the social phenomena of food and tourism this would be desirable.

Using Devon as a geographical focus provides an opportunity to examine the relationships within the context of an established agricultural and tourist region. A major advantage in using a specific area such as Devon is that it enables an in-depth analysis of the evolving relationships between food and tourism in a regional context to be carried out. Local foods and customs are important in understanding regional culinary identity and its role in tourism.

### **3.2 The structure of the chapter**

The chapter opens with a discussion of tourism in Devon and introduces the evolution of tourism in Devon through the five timescale eras as shown in table 1.2 Chapter 1 page 10. These are; 1 the belle époque, 2, the inter-war depression, 3 post-war to DTA, 4 the 70s to 1989 Review of DTA and 5, Regeneration, green and eco growth.

This chapter aims to provide examples of the ways in which the interests in food and tourism have evolved, and converged, through the twentieth century in Devon. Its structure presents the county in the context of a tourist destination, one that is diverse and evolving. The chapter concludes with a description of the interdependence of food and tourism in Devon.

An overview of tourism in Devon through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries leading to the twentieth century timeline of the research is used as an introduction to the chapter. Tourist activity prior to the twentieth century timescale of the research cannot be ignored as it is part of the evolutionary process. The tourism heritage and legacy of previous eras feature frequently through the twentieth century and are significant factor in the current tourism product.

The interest in food and tourism is reflected in numerous trade publications, for example those produced nationally and locally. Using archive sources such as tourist guidebooks and commercial directories it is possible to follow the growth in the interest of food in a framework of tourism. Such materials provide important detail regarding trends in hospitality provision and patterns of consumption.

An interest in food, tourism and Devon has also been reflected in popular literature from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This demonstrates a wider interest in Devon and shows how food may be used to convey the romance, culture and history of the county.

### **3.3 Tourism in Devon**

The history of tourism in Devon predates the twentieth century timeline of the research by at least two hundred years. The legacy of early travel and tourism literature is significant, and germane to the identified period. The county, and, indeed, tourism frequently refers to its past. The food of Devon has been the focus of much writing over a long period of time indicating not only an interest in food but one linking it to the county, its regions, landscape, farming, production and population, Defoe (1714), Harris (1907), Halsey (1938) and St John Thomas (2004). It is apparent that the tourist in Devon has long enjoyed its food, and that this has played an important role in their tourism experience. The interest in food in the context of tourism does not necessarily refer to lavish meals and commercial hospitality, but it is often the abundance, diversity and quality of foodstuffs encountered throughout the tourist's time in Devon that has attracted the attention of the tourist.

In early accounts of travels in the county food is often recorded in detail. A great deal can be learnt from these narratives. These often provide an insight into the daily life of those encountered by observant travellers forming a social history narrative. Some are derived from published works and some from private sources. They are significant resources providing an insight into the provision of food and the interest in it from the perspective of the consumer, and in some cases producer.

Much of the material recorded refers to a rural economy, its geography, landscape, folklore, agriculture and the production of food. In many ways this interest has been renewed with the burgeoning attention and concern regarding the sustainable production, sourcing and consumption of local foods.

#### **3.3.1 The study of the culinary and tourism past in Devon**

Devon's long history of food production and tourism has been documented for over a millennium. Surviving records are invaluable, enabling links to be made between food and travel, travel with food and subsequently food with tourism. *The Domesday Book* c. 1084 and *Victoria County History of Devon* (1906) provide records of produce the county is still celebrated for, including fruit orchards, fisheries, honeyers, and salterns for the evaporation of brine. Similarly, Kowaleski, (1995) describes Devon's agriculture and food markets in

medieval Exeter. Cider production and dairy farming were pre-eminent in the regional economy and many peasants made a profit from the sale of apples, cider and dairy products. The legacies of the markets described by Kowaleski perhaps exist today, but in other forms. Morton (1927: pp. 119 - 121) describes the attraction of Barnstaple's pannier market for his readers as 'one of the most characteristic country sights you can see in Devon, all day long the aisles between the sitting stallholders are packed with connoisseurs sampling strawberries, choosing butter and cream. The air is sweet with a scent of herbs, fruit and flowers'. In the early twenty-first century there are food festivals, farmers' markets and artisan producers providing stalls laden with local meats, fish, cider and dairy products. While Kowaleski's historic description predates tourism *per se* it demonstrates an interest in Devon's food and its production that has remained constant, and can be traced through many records. It provides important historical background detail to food and the later development of tourism in the county.

A number of geographical and agricultural surveys of the county carried out in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries provide details of the food produced and diet of those working on the land. They are important as they give an impression of local diet and produce that is characteristic of Devon.

Risdon (1714) depicts Devon in his survey as a temperate county and refers to the production of cider, herrings and pilchards. Polwhele (1805) is more specific and describes substantial meals including *Squab pies* (made from mutton) and *Clouted* (clotted) *cream*. A more detailed and regional approach is found in Vancouver (1808) who also describes the agriculture of the region providing details of the diets of those working on the land. This included staples of meat, fish and vegetables according to locality. The high quality of dairy produce found in the county is noted by Moore (1829) in his description of clotted cream, 'an article of luxury so universally esteemed'. Such descriptions are important as they indicate the origins of some of Devon's regional and local foods which a century later would attract the attention of large numbers of tourists. The interest of food from Domesday, the markets described by Kowaleski, the survey of Vancouver and Bray's (1879) 'cramp eaters' who ate a form of hearth-cooked bun can be viewed as precursors to the interest in health via the

properties of salt water and sea bathing, and food found in references to the early days of tourism in Devon's resorts such as Sidmouth and Torquay.

By the early twenty-first century the interest in food is focused on production, sourcing, processing and health with ethical and environmental concerns. The observations of these early descriptions identify five factors significant in a study of the food and tourism in Devon; these are shown in table 3.1.

**Table 3.1 Five key factors associated with food**

1 Geography and climate, the attraction of weather
2 Culture and history, the migration of people and food to the region and subsequent food exports
3 Industry, agriculture, fishing, tourism, agritourism
4 Economy – development of service and experience economy
5 Demography – linked to tradition of farming families, family run businesses and tourist profiles

Source: author

Travellers in the county often recorded in detail the food and hospitality they had received on their journeys. Such records are significant as they represent the writings of scholars with an intellectual and academic interest in Devon in addition to personal journals, Fanshawe (1859), Fiennes, (1685) Shaw, (1798). Records of journeys written as journals provide rich social detail, minutiae and observations. By the eighteenth century this form of domestic travel and exploration (as a form of domestic tourism) was becoming fashionable. Jones (1985: p. 9) states that 'the new fashion for home travel was followed by a multitude of accounts', many of which were published. Some, he suggests, were of the guidebook type with no human interest, whilst others focused on the author's curiosity and awareness of their surroundings. Most travellers comment on their journey, the weather, scenery,



accommodation and food. Whether guidebook or essay such accounts are invaluable to the tourism researcher.

The evolution of tourism within the county (and nationally) provides many references to food and hospitality. Food is an integral and essential part of the tourism experience. This is often implicit in early travel writing and accounts. However, it is not until the industry has developed in the nineteenth century that it becomes explicit, with references to specific hotels, restaurants, and foods. A wide range of writing manifests this growth. Whilst some of the personal records appear bucolic, romantic and anecdotal in style there is much to learn from them. Their main strengths are perhaps that they are contemporary, descriptive and rich in period detail. They often provide a very local insight into tourist activity. However, this may be regarded as a weakness as they are not academic sources and can appear to be subjective and reflect a bias. It is important to distinguish the personal account (which may not have been intended for publication) from the commercial guidebook which is prepared for a general readership such as the *Guide to the Watering Places of England*, (1815).

One of the earliest accounts of an extended tour is found in *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes*. Travelling through the West Country in the late seventeenth century Fiennes (1684) describes in detail her travels and provides accounts of the hospitality received on her journey. This includes a description of clotted cream and apple pie served in an inn. Chope (1918: p. 231) provides details of early tours in Devon and Cornwall and including the Reverend Stebbing Shaw who described the production of clotted cream after consuming the delicacy at a meal in Okehampton. He writes, 'Here we dined and had our usual complement so peculiar to this county of tarts and clotted cream.' Stebbing Shaw's account appeared in the eighteenth century *Tourist Guide to England*, a comprehensive collection of accounts of travels in England, Scotland, and Ireland. He later recorded the manufacture of clotted cream in his journal. Other accounts of this period also provided details of food for tourists. Read, Skinner, Swete and Defoe describe foods encountered on their travels in the county. Read (1746) suggested that cider might be suitable as a beverage on board ship whilst Skinner (1985: pp.10-30) gives an account of his travels through the West Country in 1797. A cleric with the 'curiosity of a young man', he records his impressions of the picturesque and routine in Devon. He is intrigued by the sight of women 'wearing Dutch style trowsers' employed in fishing at Shaldon. A dinner of 'a Devonshire dish called squab pie' (comprised of apples,

onions and neck of mutton) was enjoyed at a farmhouse close by. Defoe (1714: p. 226) in his tour of England and Wales written before the Industrial Revolution observes the economic and social condition of the time. In Devon he records much about the trade in fishing, and the export of ‘cyder to London’. Memorable meals include a dinner of broiled (grilled) pilchards at a cost of *three farthings*, from a large *scool* followed the next day by a dish of large lobsters at 6d or 8d (about three or four pence each).

Swete (1997: p.5) in the introduction to his Picturesque Sketches of Devon (1789 -1800) describes Devon as being of particular interest to the botanist, mineralogist, valetudinarian, painter;

“and finally – ut summa contingam – for the epicure – for here are to be met all the necessities and elegant luxuries of life, which either sea or land can afford for the sustenance or gratification of any people.”

Although such records allude to tourism it is important to note how food was of importance to those early travellers in the county. While travelling and staying away from home in what would have been considered a remote part of the country, food and hospitality, whether in a private house or commercial establishment, was usually of interest to the traveller. Surviving records are significant too in terms of tourism as the details they recorded are often those noted by later writers in the age of mass tourism. They indicate a wider interest than just food. It is a combination of the food with descriptions of the landscape, production, processing and consumption that have been recorded. Details of meals, foods and customs are invaluable in the historical and longitudinal study of tourism. Towner (1995: pp. 339-45) suggests that images of the past are usually represented by ‘stories of spas, resorts and the activities of the wealthy’. He observes that it is the routine and mundane which are also important in the evolution of tourism. The seemingly everyday routine of rural life and its customs are important in the evolution of tourism in the county.

The observations of early writers are significant as they provide examples of the continuity of food in the social and economic history of Devon. Dairy produce including clotted cream, cider, meat, fish, fruit and vegetables are mentioned over the centuries. From Defoe to the food writers of the twenty-first century it is apparent that writers as travellers, witness and show an interest in, food, as a feature of the landscape, culture and economy of the county. Their descriptions provide a culinary and tourist map of the region. Before the development of commercialised hospitality and the proliferation of hotels, cafes and restaurants it is mainly specific foodstuffs and commodities such as clotted cream and cider that are noted rather than dishes. They are important as they provide evidence of regional foods and specialities long associated with Devon prior to the current interest in local and authentic produce.

### **3.3.2 Nineteenth century tourism in Devon**

From the late eighteenth century the county was emerging as a tourist destination. The Napoleonic Wars restricted European travel and the attractions of Devon lured tourists to its fashionable resorts. Pimlott (1976: p. 63) describes the South Devon watering places as being ‘small and mainly frequented by the local gentry and the richer citizens of Exeter’; these were soon to be ‘outstripped by Torquay whose fame dates from the Napoleonic period when it was a rendezvous of the fleet’. Gray (2003: p. 96) describes leisure and the introduction of tourism as having a profound effect on the county at this time, especially the coastal resorts. Contemporary descriptions are found in publications such as *A Guide to the Watering Places of England* (1815) which describes the spas and watering places to be found in Devon. There are numerous references to food and health, in addition to the properties of the waters and climate. (Devon’s climate is frequently equated to that of France and Italy which had virtually been cut off from England during the Napoleonic wars. It was often compared with Naples, and the Riviera, and *Montecarolesque* was used to describe Torquay.) Appledore in North Devon is noted as being supplied with ‘fish and articles three times a week, and also the marine production of the seaweed *Laver*, a noted antiscorbutic’ (See appendix 8 for James Ravilious’s photographs of Laver collection and processing). Further entries in the guide include Dawlish, Torquay and Sidmouth. Sidmouth is praised for providing a ‘luxury not common in Devonshire, excellent ices’. The town also ‘boasted a commodious tea room and shed frequented by ladies as well as gentlemen’. Thus a template

for Devon's seaside resorts was fashioned, genteel, refined and providing local and fashionable delicacies.

Travelling for health and pleasure is a recurrent theme in the descriptions of the Devon resorts. It is evident that food was important to these early tourists. Some may have stayed in hotels and boarding houses but many would have rented or 'taken' property. Subsequently they required regular supplies of food, details of food markets was provided in the early guides such as the 1815 *Guide to the Watering Places of England and Wales*. Travis (1993: p. 144) suggests that 'new hotels and lodging houses mushroomed up at the seaside resorts' in order to meet the growth in demand for accommodation in the county. Some of these establishments are still in operation including the Royal Clarence Hotel in Exeter (often referred to as England's first hotel).

Murray's Guidebook to Devon and Cornwall (1859) suggests that tourists at that time may have been interested in the food of Devon in addition to their sightseeing. (In Newlyn the fisheries are described as an attraction) The traveller is given detailed descriptions of local produce and dishes including the production of cider, clouted (clotted) cream, squab pie and junket. These demonstrate the relationship that Devon's food has with its landscape and economy, engaging the tourist with the production and customs associated with it.

By the 1860s with the expansion of the rail network and improvements to the roads tourism developed rapidly, bringing many resorts within easy reach of the middle classes (and to an extent the working classes). This is reflected in the South Devon Handbook (c.1870: p. 85) which describes some of the foods and hospitality tourists might enjoy during their stay, Paignton is noted for its fertile soil and the production of the large Paignton (pole) cabbage and of a 'beverage peculiar to Devonshire (and one or two counties) called cider, made from the juice of the apple'. The qualities of various hotels and inns at the main resorts are noted including the newly built Imperial hotel in Torquay. The Imperial was soon recognised as one of the leading hotels in the county. Denes (1982: pp. 97-104) indicates that the Imperial hotel had a long-established gastronomic tradition dating from the time when Napoleon III was a guest. A later innovation were the gastronomic weekends started in the 1960s which attracted many visitors who had travelled to Devon for food, and was an early example of *food*

*tourism*. These soon included West Country-inspired menus but as chefs from other European countries were invited to cook ‘the guests really wanted the imported cuisine’.

Seventy-five years later The Imperial was described in *Picture Post* (1947: pp.11 -12) as an exemplar, and university of the hotel profession. It was depicted as providing luxurious surroundings, food and service and, rather wistfully, on the terrace overlooking the bay ‘a fashionable topic of conversation is to compare the view with the Riviera....’. At a time of austerity and the challenges of overcoming the ‘*general discomfort, bad cooking and appalling service offered complacently by the ordinary English hotel*’ readers were reminded that in spite of the prevailing difficulties facing the hotel or boarding house keeper ‘friendliness is neither rationed, nor common courtesy’. The ‘*Come to Britain*’ initiative aimed to stimulate post-war tourism, but it suggested that unless hotels learned to welcome their guests instead of treating them as a rather tiresome source of income the government would not earn its ‘urgently needed tourists’ dollars (estimated income for 1947, £25,000,000). Journalist Marjorie Beckett concluded that;

‘...the seaside family hotel, boarding house and country inn all depend ultimately on their teaching. But in this country, where the wealthy upper class has always gone abroad for their holidays, first-class hotels with traditions of good service and good cooking are very few.’

Beckett’s observations are important as they indicate much about prevailing standards, attitudes and challenges facing the industry at a time of great adversity, and foresee the need for training and raising standards.

Other writers of the late Victorian and Edwardian eras provide details of the food produced in the county in the context of travel, folklore, agriculture and ultimately tourism. Hawker (1881: pp. 1-6) describes the manufacture and customs associated with *clouted* (Clotted) cream in a paper presented to the Devonshire Association. It is stated that the cream has ‘all the health giving properties of cod-liver oil, with the difference of taste thrown in.’ Norway (1900: pp. 71, 117) describes in great detail the production of cider, fishing, Clovelly Herrings and the community ritual of the gargantuan Paignton Pudding (a boiled suet

pudding). Baring-Gould (1907: p.36) mentions food in relation to 'Industries' in his Devon guide. He states that cheese made in Devon is poor, but its cream (clouted) is of 'worldwide fame'. Northcote (1908 pp. 113, 131) links food to the landscape and history of Devon. She refers to fishing (past and present) describing the decline and diversity of the industry. Such examples indicate and reinforce an interest in food but it is Harris (1907: pp. 35, 39) who appears to be one of the first to connect food with tourism at this time. Writing for the Western Morning News he refers to Devon as 'fair apple country' and enthuses over the 'marriage of junket and cream'. He suggests to his readers that 'this is Devon, the land of junket and cream, the very place for a holiday'. His style is romantic and evocative of the picturesque of the early nineteenth century. However, such detail is significant as the attention of potential travellers and tourists is drawn to food.

### **3.4 Food and tourism in popular literature**

There are copious references to food in popular literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries based on Devon. The county attracted numerous authors (some as tourists themselves) including Henry Williamson, Henry James, Marie Corelli, Agatha Christie, Margaret Halsey, Eden Phillpotts, John Galsworthy and Beatrice Chase. Rupert Brooke visited Devon in the early twentieth century, the formal afternoon tea served by Mrs Montague at Penton House in Crediton is said to have inspired the poem *Dining Room Tea*, Hassall (1972: pp.281-282). The tangible links extracted from these literary connections are food-based rather than real or imaginary characters, although members of the farming community often appear. Squire, (1994: pp.104-107) suggests that in the UK literary heritage is 'widely promoted' and that in addition to Beatrix Potter 'places like Shakespeare's Stratford and the Brontes' Yorkshire are recognised internationally.' Squire proposes that literary tourism is associated with more than the author who may be 'appropriated symbolically as an expression of values', which in the example of Devon include the countryside, heritage preservation and authenticity. Literary tourism is not simply 'a function of literary influences.' A circuit of culture is employed as a means of 'developing understandings of the cultural meanings of tourism and tourism experiences, exploring theoretical relationships between cultural production and consumption.' Thurston-Hopkins, (1926: pp. 9-11) describes the associations of literature in Devon as appealing to tourists

suggesting that ‘a month spent on Dartmoor will bring the reader into contact with many of Phillpotts’ characters there, amid the grey massive tors of granite and wild tracts mantled with furze’. The people of Devon are described as rustics just as the characters in the novels of Eden Phillpotts, droll and without a sense of humour. However, their generosity and hospitality is noted as he indicates the apparent aloofness of the landlord of a country inn may result in guests leaving ‘burdened with gifts of cream and apples and butter’.

Watkins (1884: pp. 21 -22) ‘transports’ his readers to ‘the lanes that skirt the myrtles and fuchsias of Budleigh Salterton’ stating that Autumn brings a beauty of its own to these quiet lanes and it is here the reader learns that *worts* (whortleberries) are being gathered ‘to sell to visitors at the neighbouring sea-side village.’ Again it is the lush vegetation, climate and tradition of local produce that are described as an attraction.

Corelli (1896: pp. 19-20) develops the theme of Devon’s landscape. In *The Mighty Atom*, a novel based in Clovelly, the description of a tea time treat at ‘Miss Payne’s cottage, where we can get the best cream in all Devonshire’ is included. The cottage is depicted as being close to Clovelly and is portrayed as a ‘small thatched cottage, overgrown from porch to roof with climbing roses, fuchsias and jessamine, where an unobtrusive signboard might just be discerned framed in a wreath of brilliant nasturtiums, and bearing the following device, *CLARINDA CLEVERLY PAYNE. New laid eggs, Devonshire Cream, Junkets. Teas Provided*’. Corelli’s prose although somewhat overwritten does give the reader an impression of Devon’s mild climate, luxuriant vegetation and an area famed for its produce.

James (1905: pp. 101 - 102) in his accounts of *Cathedral Towns* discovered in the evocative narratives of English Hours writes of the pleasures of cathedral hunting. Whilst in North Devon a table d’hôte lunch at an hotel is described with the company being more memorable than the ‘joints and side dishes’. He writes, ‘I read an unnatural blueness into the northern sea and the village below put on the grace of the hundred hamlets of the Riviera’. Such descriptions indicate a somewhat pragmatic interest in food, but it is the writers who are interested in the history, economy, and life of the county that often provide detail of interest to the tourist linking this with food. Phillpotts (1915: pp. 203-6) recalls the huge variety of apples to be found in Devon’s orchards and how these were synonymous with the county, for cider, cooking and he was advised that ‘they (apples) was sent for man to eat’. Phillpotts’

*Devonshire Plays* (1927) evoked these landscapes and their traditions for the stage. Similarly Galsworthy (1925: p.269) describes farmhouse hospitality thus, ‘the kitchen was a white-washed room with rafters to which were attached smoked hams; there were flower pots on the window sill....., during a late and sumptuous tea with eggs to it, cream and jam, and thin fresh cakes touched with saffron.....’. It is an evocative description but clearly describes the domestic provision recalled by many tourists.

A different style is found in the works of authors who keenly observed rural life over a period of time. Williamson’s (1945: pp. 252-262) *Life in a Devon Village*, writes of a period between the two world wars ‘an observed and authenticated period that has now passed away’. Rather than the eulogies used by other writers Williamson describes the simple diet and food of the local population including a description of the customs associated with *Devonshire Cider* making. Food features in *The Pathway* (1933: p. 61) including a description of breakfast with Devonshire *tettie cakes* the vernacular for fried potato cakes.

These are important examples as food is described in the context of daily life, the food eaten by the farming and rural community. They are not the items provided for tourists in hotels or restaurants.

Torr (1970: p. 46) also writes of the daily routine and changes in production techniques. By the late nineteenth century he observes ‘Here in the South Hams there was quite the best cream in England, and about the best cider, and also excellent mutton. Now they are ruining cream by using separators. Of course it is cream made in Devonshire but is not what was known as Devonshire cream. The stuff is not worth eating.’

Similar observations of Devonshire life were provided by Beatrice Chase (1928: p. 45). She was well known for her passion for Dartmoor and its inhabitants and this was often reflected in her writing. The author’s home close to Widecombe-in-the-Moor attracted many tourists (and readers of her prolific works) who would often purchase their signed copies from the ‘Dartmoor window’ of her home. She laments the trend of holiday homes stating that



‘cottages here are very scarce and very much sought- after as summer holiday haunts by well-to-do people.’ Her somewhat romantic style occasionally alludes to food. Dartmoor life of the early twentieth century is illustrated with many anecdotes including butter making, ‘but to make butter as we do here from scalded cream by beating it with the hand, very cold, and very pure water is necessary.’

The human narrative is important in tourism, told as personal stories the reader is afforded a glimpse into a private world of reminiscence and observation. Stark (1950: pp.52) fondly recalled her childhood holidays in Devon, ‘sometimes he (father) would take us out for picnics on the moor, jolting in a cart that met the heather as a clumsy creaking fishing boat meets the waves, and would fry a pancake mixture from a jar over the fire which he built up with great delicacy and skill’. Duncan (1954 : pp. 149-152) also writes of life in Devon and observes the Devonshire diet and food. Lamenting the scarcity of local food in the years of austerity following World War Two he refers to an eighteenth century map of the county, ‘it was an epicure’s map drawn by a traveller who had stopped at each village and recorded the particular product of each with a little drawing’. The attraction of Devon as a tourist destination is acknowledged and Duncan (pp. 68-69) observes that Clovelly has a Spanish or Portuguese atmosphere. Its cobbled precipitous High Street ‘which crawls up from the little jetty is similar to many Spanish villages bordering the Mediterranean’.

Skinner (1947: pp. 42-6) writes in a different style to Chase, Duncan, Stark, Torr and Williamson, exemplifying Dartmoor using folklore. This includes ‘the story (a fanciful tale of a moorland giant and his wives) of clouted cream’ ascribing the introduction of the delicacy to the Phoenician tin traders.

The literary style of the early to mid-twentieth century writing does have a relevance to tourism. Many of the writers reflect an interest in the county and the rural lifestyle. Books in which food was featured were often purchased as souvenirs. As suggested some works were novels, but included autobiographical accounts and guidebooks.

An author now regarded as an attraction in Torquay, Agatha Christie, based several detective novels in Devon. These included *And Then There Were None* (1939) and *Evil Under the Sun* (1941: p.7) both of which were inspired by Burgh Island, a south coast resort famous for its art deco hotel, an ‘awfully jolly hotel there on a sort of island, very comfortable, good cooking and all that.’ The ‘great cult of the seaside for holidays’ and the importance of the coastline of Devon and Cornwall as tourist attractions are established early in the novel. Devon is presented as an attractive and exclusive location. Halsey (1938: pp. 15, 41) writes as a somewhat critical observer and discovers the qualities of regional food and hospitality (both commercial and domestic) as an American tourist staying in Devon. Surprised at the response to her request for a glass of milk whilst at an Exeter restaurant, she notes that, ‘the waitress was staggered’ and eventually the ‘milk project was tacitly abandoned’. Conversely the tradition of afternoon tea is favourably mentioned on several occasions as including ‘Devonshire cream, superlative strawberry jam and sandwiches compiled by a knowing hand.’

Literature presents many opportunities for the inclusion and personification of food, in the example of Devon it shows how this is connected to its history, folklore, custom, tradition, agriculture and, crucially, tourism.

### **3.5 Food, cookery and tourism**

As the interest in tourism grew in the county, foods associated with Devon began to appear in cookery books, including those which were based on the West Country. Cookery books based on Devonshire recipes are also sold as souvenirs at most tourist sites. Although some appear to have only tenuous connections with Devon, they seem to meet a need for this market and reflect tourists’ interests in the county’s food. Their importance in the context of tourism is not only as souvenirs but in that they form a tangible association with place and also indicate a quest for authenticity. It is cooks and writers such as White (1932), Hartley (1954), Fitzgibbon (1972), Thomas (1979) and Chard (1985) who were the first to research food in a regional and historical context. Their works include not only recipes, but the historical details

and origins of local, regional and authentic foods and dishes. Some dishes are obviously connected to Devon by ingredients and there are examples of dishes named in honour of it such as *Exeter Pudding*. This rich baked pudding containing clotted cream was created by the celebrated chef Alexis Soyer on a visit to Exeter in 1850. It was served at a lavish banquet prepared as part of a celebration of British farming (and local produce). Cowen (2006: p.188) described it as a 'substantial English feast' that reflected the hard work of the farmers. As an early example of a food festival and food tourism the event is important as it generated considerable prestige and publicity for the county and its agricultural produce. It also attracted thousands of visitors to the city. Chard (1985) refers to manuscripts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in describing traditional Devonshire recipes which reflect the range of produce and ingredients available at the time. Thomas also provides information about surviving food markets and sources of local foods, thirty years after publication an equivalent list would include a new generation of artisan producers and farmers' markets, many of which attract tourists, connecting them to the county.

An early example of a food guide in contrast to the ubiquitous guide book was initiated by White (1935) in the form of the '*Good Food Register, 1935*'. This was presented as a handbook for 'those searching out English provincial food' and developed White's interest in regional dishes, (1931: p.457). The Good Food Register was a precursor to the later plethora of food guides. Published by the English Folk Cookery Association (E.F.C.A.) readers were advised that visitors 'touring England are informed that it is sometimes difficult to obtain local delicacies' (ingredients and dishes) and that they are often only found at their best in farmhouses, cottages and other private houses where the good old traditions are kept up.' In Devon the Round House Hotel at Shaldon is noted for 'its famous tomato cocktails, Teign salmon, fish pie, splits and strawberries and cream.' It is interesting to note that the E.F.C.A Register was one of the association's many activities. These included broadcasting, publicising regional English recipes, and the publication of articles and recipes in *The Caterer*, the 'trade organ of the E.F.C.A.' The work of the association represents a significant attempt to encourage commercial outlets to provide traditional and regional recipes. At that time (the inter-war period) the fashion, and taste, in hotel and restaurant food was still heavily influenced by the repertoire of classical French haute cuisine dating from the early nineteenth century.

The interest in food and cookery was affected by the wartime and austerity shortages, although some of the guidebooks continued to provide details of regional specialities. *Holiday in southernmost Devon* (c.1955: pp. 21-22) describes the food products the area was well known for as fish, ice cream and that after shopping there are the waterside inns, where the warmth of a summer evening can be thwarted, with discretion, by deceptive drafts of Devon cider. Stories of the nineteenth century fruit clippers (pp. 51-52) of the Kingsbridge estuary with their exotic cargoes of pineapples and oranges provide a contrast to the 1950s advertisements for accommodation and cream teas. For example, *The Woodgrange Guest House, Salcombe*, ‘After a day spent fishing, bathing, walking or motoring how good to come back to a cheerful house, a good meal, plenty of hot water and a comfortable bed’.

Changes in hospitality provision for tourists were identified by Lewes et al (1970: pp. 169 – 177) shortly after the Development of Tourism Act, 1969. It is stated that ‘Four and a half million visitors come to Devon and Cornwall each year, spending about £19 a head, mainly in the four summer months. Figures for 1966 showed 4.81 million visitors, with an average stay of 11.4 days, (p.236). It was suggested that 78% of the demand for hotel and restaurant was ‘due to holiday-makers’. However in order to meet demand the hotel sector was identified as requiring extensive modernisation and upgrading of facilities.

The economic effects and benefits of tourism in the region included food, with dairy products, cider, brewing, identified as significant. It is interesting to observe that fish (a product frequently associated with the county and tourism) faced competition ‘between the alternative uses to which boats can be put to – to fish or to entertain visitors with sea trips’. In Torbay fishermen make no pretence at summer fishing but concentrate on the holiday trade, however in Sidmouth they fish early and late in the day leaving the rest for holiday demand. ‘Consequently tourism has had the effect of helping to maintain fish production’. Farming, it was suggested, might interact considerably with the holiday industry but existing marketing and distribution procedures ‘screened farmers’ from additional local demand’. Sales of produce at the farm gate were not considered to be of significance ‘except to a small number of well-sited farms’. Some farmers had planned cropping to meet local ‘holiday generated demand’ with strawberries, tomatoes and other salad crops. A decision by farmers to move

into the holiday industry was thought to leave the farms ‘under-capitalised’ although some successful bed and breakfast ventures had provided profits which were ploughed back into the farms. Some small farms (under 50 acres) were suggested as being considerably dependent upon income from holidaymakers although the return on investment, whether improving the farmhouses to receive guests, or in the preparation of caravan, camping or chalet sites, is low (Ibid 177).

### **3.5.1 Restaurant cookery books**

By the 1980s a proliferation of publications by chefs and patrons of restaurants reflected not only a growing interest in food but locally sourced foods, traditional dishes and the era of the *celebrity chef*. Jaine (1986: p. 14) and Hill (1990: pp. 6-9) present what are essentially books based on restaurant food in Devon, but these are also highly personalised containing many references to local foods, producers and regional dishes. An early example of these cookery books is *A Manual of Vegetarian Cookery* (1908). This was compiled by Dr George Black who ran a vegetarian hotel in Belstone – The Dartmoor House. Great use is made of local produce and the requests for the cook’s (Miss Isabel Densham) ‘appetising, invigorating and healthful recipes’ prompted its publication. The foreword to Hill’s *Gidleigh Park Cookery Book* refers to the poet Keats’s visit to Devon in 1818 and his interest in the food and verdant landscape of the Teign Valley. If he was to visit the area now it is suggested he would find much unchanged and would be able to identify the same staple ingredients that he enjoyed including salmon and cream. Keats would have noticed too that food in Devon has evolved in a special way. The recipes ‘may have been used in a restaurant but are in the tradition of Elizabeth David and Jane Grigson, both authors writing for a domestic audience’ and are presented to be cooked at home.

## **3.6 Food and tourism in trade publications**

Directories such as Besley (1831) and White (1850) begin to give a broader picture of the production and provision of food in Devon, promoting its produce for residents and visitors. White provides details of the food commodities the county was famous for at the time. Fish, meat and dairy produce of high quality were noted, and he records that food was exported to national markets including London. Although the importance of food to the economy is detailed it is not linked directly to tourism at that time. Inns and hotels found in the county are listed and identify those that were appearing due to the spread of the railways which were to have a profound effect on the development of Devon's tourism. Besley's directory (1831) is dedicated to travellers and mentions hospitality provision within Exeter. This includes a long list of inns, taverns, eating houses and food markets. The food markets are important for those who were visiting the area and renting a house, and in effect were a form of self-catering tourist.

### **3.7 Tourism in Devon through the eras**

Researching the evolution of a relationship over a long century, through the twentieth century can be divided into eras. The timescale might be divided by specific events, historic, economic, and social and those specifically related to the development of tourism. The eras represented are The Belle Époque, the years up to the First World War, the depression to the Second World War, the years of austerity, boom and Development of Tourism Act, the growth in mass and global tourism and the era of green, sustainable and eco tourism.

Eating out is of great importance to tourism, and the change from a formal, contrived and staged international style of the 1900s to the current chef (*as a celebrity and attraction*) and produce-centred dining experience is significant. Food can be discussed regarding its polarity and scale, at one end mass-market at the other haute cuisine. Quality, delivery and the experience are important considerations. There are tourists who travel to eat, or enjoy food as a special treat whilst on holiday. This is not a new phenomenon and has been identified by many tourists. Maybe what has changed though is the interpretation, expectation and definition of what constitutes a special meal. In the 1950s a cream tea or fish and chips may have been sufficient. Fifty years later many consumers are more discerning, informed,

knowledgeable and demanding regarding their food. They frequently search for the so called fine dining and gastro-pub food experience whilst on holiday. Accessibility to information regarding restaurants and food outlets has improved, and ‘virtuality’ informs, and involves, consumers in a different way than printed guides. Post 2000 in the era of the experience economy, post-modern society is discussing the experience of experience. An example gaining popularity is the emerging sophisticated culinary experience offered at cookery schools in the pursuit of food tourism. Participants not only learn about food and cookery but are able to consume the produce, and then possibly purchase ingredients and equipment in order to reproduce the food at home.

### **3.7.1 >1914 The belle époque**

At the beginning of the twentieth century Devon was firmly established as a tourist destination. Heritage and health appeared to be the major strengths communicated to its tourists. The county was often compared to other European destinations. It was usually those with equitable climates and beautiful scenery such as the Riviera, Rhine, and Switzerland. The United Devon Association (1899-1900: p. 6) describe Devon as ‘one of the brightest jewels in England’s diadem of beauty’. Whilst in Princetown it is suggested that the tourists’ charabancs might stop at the Duchy Hotel ‘a famous old hostelry’ and that tea was available at Vixen Tor, provided by a cottager ‘who resides under the tor at a small charge’ (p. 116). Heath (1910: pp. 98-102) extols the qualities of the south Devon coast and the attraction of its fishing ports for the tourist, and Crossing (1972) states in the preface to the *1912 Guide to Dartmoor* that the claims of Dartmoor as a holiday and health resort have become widely recognised. Whortleberries are described as being of local interest, harvesting the berries was regarded as a holiday by women and children during July and August and appeared to attract the interest of tourists. (ibid p.40) A similar literary style is used in guidebooks of the era by Cresswell (1902: p. 10) and the Great Western Railway (1912). Cresswell writing for the ‘Homeland Association for the encouragement of touring Great Britain’ also provides details of tours of Dartmoor. These include numerous practical suggestions regarding food. Her readers are advised where they may obtain delicacies such as a ‘whitebait tea’ at Turf and a ‘generous spread in the shape of a meat tea’ at the Dolphin in Ashburton (p. 33). At Easdon farm moorland character could be studied whilst ‘sitting on the oaken settle by the hearth, (all the cooking is done on the open hearth) enjoying bread and cream.’ (pp: 52- 53). The Great

Western Devon guide provides details of the visit Dr Johnson made to Devon. Apparently he ‘revelled in such local luxuries as cider, honey and Devonshire cream’. Cider, fishing, whitebait and improvised al fresco meals at Turf are also recommended for tourists visiting the county by rail or road.

Such material written in the early twentieth century, prior to the First World War, reflects a somewhat unhurried and privileged approach to tourism, one for the Edwardian leisured classes. They also exhibit an interest in the history and heritage of the county, one inextricably linked to local and rural life and an economy enriched by tourism. James (2006: p. 366) observes that at this time it was the middle class and romantically inclined tourists influenced by organisations such as The Commons Preservation Society and the National Trust who were perhaps ‘unconscious contributors to the notion that the countryside represented the essence of Englishness’.

### **3.7.2 >1939 The inter-war period rail, road and rambling....**

Although the majority of tourists arrived by train following the First World War the 1920s descriptions of the county are directed at another generation of tourists, the independent motorists. After the war there had been an increase in public and private motor transport enabling greater and independent access to the countryside, and the possibility of touring holidays. This period was popular with the ‘rambler’ who explored much of the county, coast, moor and countryside on foot. This trend is exemplified by Wade, (1930: pp. 2-7) who suggests that Devon ‘is the most beautiful county in England’ and to the peripatetic tourist the fatness of the land is manifested in the junkets and clotted cream provided for his delectation. Winbolt and Ward (1929: pp.72-73) advise potential visitors that Salcombe in South Devon is ‘deservedly popular with delicate patients who require a mild climate – oranges, citrons and lemons ripen their fruits in the open, fuchsia trees abound’ and that it would also appeal to the visitors who appreciate bathing, walks and sailing in ‘very beautiful surroundings’.



Mais (1938: pp. 159-60) writing in the late 1930s describes Devon as England's holiday ground, but states that farming will occupy pride of place where 'nature is so prodigal of beauty'. Devonshire food is described thus, 'that exquisitely delectable clotted cream which so enriches whortleberry tart and junket that they are unthinkable without it is not solely consumed by natives and visitors. The export trade in cream must rival that of cider'. However, Mais appears to ignore the value of farming to tourism.

Numerous guide and travel books were published, encouraging tourists to visit the county. Their style (particularly certain travel books) is sometimes descriptive and romanticised but they still remain important period records of tourists' interests, activities and aspirations.

### **3.7.3. The train**

Many tourists still travelled to Devon by train and were encouraged by the company's guides to visit Devon. The Great Western Railway *Holiday Haunts for 1925* (1925: p. 281) represented resorts served by the company. It states that 'no other county offers more to the holiday-maker than Devon'. In addition to the appeal of its climate and varied scenery an intangible quality is identified, 'there is a homeliness about Devon which abides'. Such characteristics are frequently found in guidebooks of the period. Mais (1928 p. 3) writing for the Great Western Railway extols the qualities of Devon as a tourist destination. It is suggested that visitors came to the county for:

'what he cannot get anywhere else, clotted cream the colour of cowslips for breakfast, lunch, tea and dinner, scenery as rich as the cream and contact with a glorious past history and a very pleasant type of modern people.'

Food and hospitality are notable features in a later Southern Railway guide, Mais (1937), including a lobster tea at three shillings (15p) recommended for walkers visiting Beer. Exploring the county by train is described by Russell (1932: pp.3-5) whose first visit to Devon was on the 'Cornishman' - precursor of the Cornish Riviera Express. The railway

offered travellers superb views of the Devonshire landscape. Russell's explorations abound with descriptions of the scenery for example: 'the coastline of Torbay is a great semi-circle of soft beauty' and '....a delicious English jungle with many wide open spaces of buttercups and clover' (p.35). The merits of Devonshire cream were attributed to the rich pastures (p.77).

#### **3.7.4 Motoring holidays**

The trend in motoring is apparent in the 1920s. Murray (c1925: pp. 8-9) comments that the freedom of the open road 'brings the whole of the country within reach of one's door' and that 'one of the greatest joys of the average small-car owner today is to take wife and family, food and thermos flasks and sally forth for a day's pic-nic'. Touring is suggested as giving greater independence and access to the countryside. This resulted in an expansion of the commercial and domestic hospitality sector in providing refreshments for the motor tourists, for example the road house. (In many cases this was a seasonal and small-scale provision such as tea shops and farmhouse teas).

H.V. Morton, travel writer and journalist (1927: p. 119), recalls in detail the farm produce encountered on his motor travels in Devon, 'Wicker baskets containing bright golden butter, Devonshire cream and the shiniest of strawberries.' Moss (c.1938: pp. 9-10) gives advice for touring Devon by car. He suggests that it is 'sheer heresy to rush through Devon, every mood of nature is reflected here in inspiring perfection'. The Devon village is described as a dream with 'inviting pretty cob-built cottages'. Readers are advised that 'if you knock at a door, maybe a hospitable housewife will give you tea, tea of real Devonshire fare, with perhaps cream and home-made pasties'. Such provision is recorded by Bateman (c.1940: pp. 38 – 39), (See Appendix 10). Muirhead (1939) describes Devonshire as a 'deservedly popular county in both winter and summer'. Clotted cream and cider are listed as being 'possibly the best known of Devonshire products'. By 1939 there were two million private licensed motor cars in Britain and an estimated 10 million bicycles. The popularity of the cycling holiday is described in Burbidge's (1946) evocative account of a 1930s tour through the West Country. Middleton (2007: p. 3) notes that motor transport, whether car, charabanc, scheduled bus or

caravan provided tourists with greater opportunities to enjoy touring holidays than previously.

### **3.7.5 Boating holidays**

The county's distinctive and contrasting coastlines and rivers attracted tourists, whether on pleasure boats, trips around the bay or for fishing. A holiday by boat is recorded by Cattell (1937: p.75) where descriptions of Devon 'from a boat', with some inland excursions, are provided. These include references to food. The Haldon Hill Café (one of the earliest roadside cafes) is noted as the chalet on the Exeter road. Later at Shaldon 'we had tea at a modest little grey house that by repute among the natives supplies the finest cream teas in Devonshire'. The landscape too is described in terms analogous to food, 'villages of thatched cottages with walls the colour of clotted cream' enhance the surroundings.

What do these accounts suggest? Many indicate that the county had become a popular destination during the winter as well as the peak summer months. The mild (Riviera) climate of the south coast, especially Torbay, made it a popular winter resort while hunting and field sports extended the season for North Devon. The guides are also important references to period patterns of tourism consumption, whether by road, rail, water or rambling. The references to food are mostly limited to dairy produce and the ubiquitous afternoon tea which was a popular and important eating out experience during the inter-war period.

### **3.7.6 The tea shop and café**

Clunn (1929: pp. 285-287) describes the development of 'pleasure resorts' on the south coast. These include Paignton and Torquay with their 'exquisite scenery and perfect climatic conditions'. Paignton is praised for possessing 'one of the finest cafes on the south coast, Messer's Deller's,' and the 'throngs of visitors who frequent this establishment during the summer months'. Hoskins (1960: p. 128) refers to Deller's Café in Exeter as being known to 'all citizens and holiday makers all over England'. In its brief life he suggests it had become part of the social history of the city. Deller's produced a booklet in the mid 1920s titled *About*

*Dellerland, Deller's, the Cafes of the West. An ideal trip through the West Country*, it recommends that tourists might stop at Deller's Cafes in Taunton, Exeter and Paignton for refreshments. The Exeter branch is described as a 'social centre' for visitors and citizens and 'the café of the provinces'. It was praised for the superlative quality of its fare which included much local produce. Deller's provided good food in opulent surroundings but at costs described as 'delightfully moderate', (Cleave 2011: p. 32) Tours by motor coach feature in the Greenslades' Tours brochure (c.1930). Sixteen advertisements for outlets providing tea are included. These range from tea shops, tearooms, and teahouses with real cream teas and lobster teas. Only Deller's Cafes offer '*real Devonshire fare*'.

Such outlets are significant developments in the timeline as they were extremely popular with tourists. They provided an affordable opportunity for eating out; enjoying local specialities as a holiday treat and emphasizing the significance of afternoon *tea* as a meal to tourists.

Shaw *et al* (2006 pp. 83 – 86)) state that the tea shop and restaurant added significantly to the new spaces of consumption available to consumers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is important to include tourists as consumers in this context as many of these outlets were located in major tourism locations and resorts. Such cafes (as developed by companies such as Lyons, ABC and Cadena) often targeted tourists. According to Spencer (2002: pp. 299-300) the success of Lyons and the Lyons Corner House (up to the Second World War) was founded on uniformity and the provision of a comfortable, standardised and relatively luxurious dining experience. These attributes and a 'sophisticated menu that appealed to lady shoppers and female office workers' were considered vital to the operation of the outlets. Spencer observes that foreign dishes 'were reduced to a blandness suitable for the British palate' thereby offering a staged culinary authenticity. Hern (1967: p. 172) suggests that it was during the 1920s that women of the middle and lower middle classes discovered the pleasures of eating out and that this was especially popular during a holiday, or excursion to a resort. However it is afternoon tea that appealed to many tourists as an affordable and memorable treat. Urry (1990: p. 65) writes that from the 1890s with the construction of 'grand hotels' dining in public became fashionable and accessible, 'they were public, or semi-public spaces for wealthy men and women to be seen in'. Coleman *et al* (2011: p.310) support this trend linking the growth of the tearoom with an emerging tourism

industry. The essential nature of the tearoom is described as serving nutritious popular food at a reasonable price. Location and decor were considered as important factors in attracting consumers. This is evident in the examples of Deller's Cafes in Devon and Somerset, (See appendix 7).

The ambience of many provincial tea shops and cafes such as Deller's in Exeter and Paignton, Clapp's Café in Exmouth and Addison's in Torquay emulated the style of the grand hotel as described by Urry. Burkart and Medlik (1981: p. 19) suggest that the Edwardian period of the *belle époque* was the zenith of development of the luxury hotel catering for a minority of wealthy families demanding great comfort and style. These mirrored in a commercial setting the palaces and grand houses from which haute cuisine and service had evolved. Royal patrons such as King Edward VII had encouraged the social use of hotels and restaurants making them acceptable to the aspiring middle classes. In the provinces many hotels and cafes followed this style aiming to provide desirable surroundings for their clientele. This style of commercial grandeur endured throughout the inter-war period and can be polarised with the descriptions of farmhouse and cottage teas presented in many guidebooks of the period. St John Thomas (2004: pp. 166-167) reflects on Madge Mellor's cake shop and restaurant in Newton Abbot as 'a world within a world, imperiously ruled by its owner cherishing tradition'. The café finally closed in the 1980s much lamented by its patrons including generations of holidaymakers.

### **3.7.7 The end of an era**

Middleton (2007: pp. 2-16) views the inter-war era as a time of growth, one that 'would provide a springboard for future development' in the post-war period. The inter-war years despite economic recession and much hardship were an era of great social change. It was an important time in the development of Devon's tourism as the relationship between the countryside and tourism evolved.

### **3.7.8 From austerity to the Development of Tourism Act**

Pimlott (1976) notes that by 1939 the public had rediscovered the benefits of the countryside in their holiday and leisure consumption. Greater accessibility by car, motor coach, rail and bicycle had resulted in 'hardly a village which did not provide some facilities for holidaymakers, holidaymaking had become an important source of income. Many cottage parlours had blossomed as tearooms.' Bouquet (1985: p. 61) suggests that many farmers' wives supplemented the family income by providing such forms of refreshment and accommodation. Brunner (1945: p. 61) affirms this stating that even during the years of agricultural depression in the 1930s 'Devon farms increasingly catered for the tourist trade' and benefited from the provision of accommodation, by selling cream teas and offering sites for camps and caravans. Tourism resulted in Devon farmers being less affected by the depression than those in other parts of the country. The interest in the countryside as a base for holidays is of particular relevance as the growth of the coastal resorts for their scenic attractions and health-giving properties and the twentieth century interests in the countryside, fresh air, health and holidays have been of great importance to the development of tourism in Devon. Stevenson (1984: p. 381) regards the growth of leisure and recreation as 'one of the most important developments in twentieth century society.' By the 1930s small towns in southern England were opened up to day-trippers. The number of annual paid holidays increased from one and a half million in the early 1920s to over eleven million by 1939 (Following the Holidays with Pay Act, 1938). Holidays abroad were popular with the middle classes Graves and Hodge (1941: p. 381) but 'most working class families spent their short holiday at seaside resorts at home'.

During the Second World War, despite food rationing, a 5 shilling (25p) price control on restaurant meals, and travel restrictions, Devon still remained a popular destination. Brunner (1945: p. 61) describes the war as bringing the tourist trade to a standstill, nevertheless 'crowds of holidaymakers, moreover have, still managed to go to Devon every year.' Mass Observation (1941) recorded incidents of *damage tourism* in Plymouth following the 1941 Blitz where visitors came specifically to view the damage. Courtney (1942: p. 86) in his wartime guide offers practical suggestions for finding accommodation and peaceful retreats

in wartime. The Royal Clarence Hotel in Exeter is described as ‘an hostelry where the past blends harmoniously with the present’. He notes that in Honiton ‘generous Devonshire teas’ were available at the Highland Fling Café. The 1941 Exeter Guide included advertisements for Deller’s Café and other establishments.

At this time considerable research into holidays and leisure consumption was conducted by Mass Observation<sup>1</sup> (1941). It was predicted that there would be an upsurge of demand for holidays in the immediate post-war period. Most holidaymakers it is suggested stayed in boarding houses and eating out is listed as one of the principal holiday activities. Post-war holiday plans were also the focus of a 1943 report. It was noted that although some respondents wanted to travel abroad many expressed the wish to visit ‘a place already known and loved’. The example of farm holidays in Devon is used including the food produced ‘in the form of milk, eggs, butter and vegetables’. Food featured in *The Annual Holiday* (1949) with up to 75% of the Mass Observation ‘middle-class’ panel keen to spend their ideal or dream holiday abroad. The enjoyments of good food and drink, entertainment and shopping were seen as necessary ingredients for their holiday. The implications for post-war tourism are developed by Brunner (1944: p. 6); it was predicted that the pre-war (1939-45) growth of holidays would continue. The age of the motor car was likely to have a ‘profound effect on holiday habits in the future’. The day excursions by motor coach had opened up the moor and made beauty spots accessible to a mass market. The impact of ‘holiday car traffic bears a direct relation to the rash of petrol pumps and wayside cafes with which a holiday area such as Devon is dotted’. It was implied that a substantial part of the livelihood of many farmers in holiday areas such as Devon and Cornwall was derived from tourism. This may have been in the pre-war form of farm holidays, the provision of ‘farmhouse teas’ and sales of farm produce for visitors. Brunner identified a demand for exclusiveness in some tourists which they found in resorts such as Sidmouth. Ilfracombe was identified with holidaymakers and trippers demanding low prices, communal facilities and holiday camps.

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<sup>1</sup> Mass Observation, A UK social research organisation formed in 1937 to record everyday life and events in Britain.

It is important to note that at this time of adversity and austerity in 1944 the future development of the tourist industry was being considered, from the perspectives of both consumer and supplier. Implications of The Holidays with Pay Act (1938) had been studied and it was suggested that ‘leadership and guidance’ might be required to encourage those who had not taken a holiday to do so (p16). Plans for the post-war development of tourism were presented in the Twentieth Annual Report of the Travel Association (1948). The prevailing attitude was that tourism was a vitally important invisible export and would benefit national recovery. The importance of the tourist was not only regarded as economic but important in the aspect of ‘international goodwill’. An extensive marketing campaign including press, radio and television coverage incorporated regional guides and 75,000 copies of a *Hotels and Restaurants in the British Isles* gazetteer. It would be twenty years before the introduction of the Development of Tourism Act (1969) formalised many of these initiatives.

### **3.7.9 Post-war developments**

Large events such as the London Olympics in 1948 and the Festival of Britain in 1951 attracted many visitors to Britain stimulating travel for leisure and recreation. The 1950s saw a return to some of the familiar pre-war holidays, but increasingly the attraction of the package tour posed a threat to the domestic market. Conversely the package tour provided consumers with an opportunity to experience new destinations and new foods.

Guidebooks of the era represent a period of restrictions and shortages, but still encourage participation in tourism. What county of England can show a more fascinating variety of landscape than Devon? writes Cooper (1950: p.1, p. 76) in an optimistic, but typical post-war guide. Food is described under the heading of *Things of interest, Devonshire Cookery* and ‘soon, one hopes, the glorious Devonshire Cream may legally be restored to us, so that we may enjoy junket and cream, a typical Devon dish’.

The 1957 resort guides to Paignton and Torquay contain few specific references to food. The advertisements for accommodation appear to suggest that post-austerity Britain showed a



greater interest in physical comforts such as, '*central heating, separate tables, interior spring mattresses and television*' which are included in most entries rather than food. Although the flamboyant culinary celebrity team of their day, *Bon-Viveur* (alias Fanny and Johnny Cradock) were appearing in Paignton '*good food, cuisine a speciality and diets studied*' are the extent of many references for hotels and guest houses. Even Torquay's top hotel, The Imperial, '*The English Hotel in the Mediterranean manner*' did not mention food in its advertisement.

It is important to note that by the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century more references to food as part of the tourism experience may be identified. Hoskins (1954: p.94) describes food as a major part of the economy of the county. By the 20<sup>th</sup> century he suggests the tourist trade was 'fully developed' and that by 1931 the holiday industry was Devon's largest, and most lucrative, bigger than agriculture (pp. 67-68). Hoskins is supported by Morgan and Pritchard (1999) who propose that by the early twentieth century the county had developed a service economy, including tourism-related service. In terms of employment this was bigger than agriculture and transport. (transport and agriculture both contributing significantly to tourism).

The 1960s saw many changes in leisure and tourism consumption. Harris (1967: pp. 11 -23) describes Britain 'for visitors from abroad' at a time of great change. In terms of tourism in Britain the trend for holidays abroad is noted both for 'millions of young people – and many older ones'. Food is mentioned as lacking variety but with some national dishes such as 'roast beef and Yorkshire pudding' surviving as reminders of a 'great culinary past'. Changes in the hospitality industry appeared to reflect an American influence with the hot dogs, hamburgers, Coca-Cola and self-service usurping tea shops and small restaurants. American imports are not new and forty years previously American Soda fountains and Waffle Bars were popular features in numerous Devon resorts. The 'Americanisation' of British society described in the 1960s would later emerge as Macdonaldisation and Disneyfication in tourism development. At this time the West Country was described by the British Travel Association England, South West (1969: p.5) as giving the impression 'of a land of plenty', with cider, clotted cream, salmon, crabs and lobsters listed as culinary attractions.

Food guides from the era also reveal much detail about consumer expectations, foods popular at a particular time and regional specialities. Ronay (1962) refers to the local produce in the

restaurants listed for Devon but emphasises the prevailing fashion for French dishes such as *Poulet sauté Chasseur* (Chicken with a wine and mushroom sauce). Postgate (1969/70: p.334) remarks that ‘Dart salmon, Exmoor lamb and sirloin of Devon beef’ were available at the Livermead House in Torquay but notes that ‘critics mention soggy vegetables, dull sweets and lack of variety’ alluding to the reputation of English cooking at the time.

In 1955 Postgate had observed that the Second World War had gravely lowered hotel standards and although by the mid 1950s, despite some improvements there was still much to be done. The role of the Royal Automobile Club (RAC) and the Automobile Association (AA) inspections and grading was considered to have played an important role in raising standards. Up until the advent of Ronay’s and Postgate’s food guides in the 1950s consumers tended to rely on guides which whilst providing details of restaurants, for example prices, and style of cooking gave little detail about the qualities of the food. The *Official Hotel and Restaurant Guide for Great Britain* (1931) published by the Hotels and Restaurants Association of Great Britain notes the prices of meals but does not provide information about the food. The British Travel and Holidays Association’s 1963 official guide similarly only provides a list of establishments and prices although diabetic and vegetarian provision was identified in addition to a *recommended restaurant* category (p. 65) ‘selected for their good quality’ but this is not qualified. In the touring notes section there are occasional references to food, Crediton in Devon is described as a ‘pleasant old market town on the river Creedy with flourishing cider and sweet industries’ (p. 44). (Cider was popular with tourists as was the clotted cream fudge manufactured by Bristow’s of Devon in Crediton.) Boumphrey’s *The Shell and BP Guide to Britain* (1966: p. 23) details ‘specialities for the gourmet’ to be found in Devon as including fish, meat, cider and Devonshire cream, ‘a delicacy which has been made for many centuries’. It is interesting to observe that other counties in the guide receive little or no reference to food. The guidebooks of this period tend to present a range of traditional restaurant food with only occasional references to local specialities. They are perhaps representative of the post-war era and its tastes. This culinary inertia was to be challenged with the introduction of a new style of cookery in the 1970s.

At this time Lewes, Culyer and Brady (1969: pp. 255-256) discuss the importance of tourism to ‘Exeter and its region’ and state that some tourism income can be attributed to agriculture, ‘particularly in respect of clotted cream’. However, the ‘bulk of the incomes arising from this

holiday spending must come from the provision of accommodation or retail trade'. Toyne (1971: pp. 240-241) also refers to the contribution made by holidaymakers to the retail business in Exeter. It is suggested that at this time shopping for food provisions accounted for up to 12-16% of food trips. Both sources have linked food with tourism (tourism is referred to as the *holiday industry*) but in a somewhat cursory manner. However, Patmore (1970: pp. 15, 157) regards the projected growth in leisure as a challenge (especially for Devon and Cornwall due to the popularity of their coastlines), and cites Dower's waves of development. Firstly the growth of industrial towns, secondly the railways, thirdly car based suburbs with a fourth wave, the challenge of leisure. Patmore is concerned that increased leisure time could present challenges to both the layman (consumer/tourist) and the planner. By the time of the Development of Tourism Act, 1969 it is suggested that greater disposable income and greater personal mobility had resulted in more leisure time and that for planners there was the 'inherent paradox of the need to conserve scarce resources and also to provide for their fuller use and enjoyment.'

Throughout the post-war period the potential of tourism appears to be recognised, and allusions to regional food may be identified. There are, however, indications that the industry was changing. Increased competition from overseas resorts and greater consumer affluence would affect the future of tourism in Devon.

### **3.7.10 1989 The era of global tourism and post-modernism**

By the mid 1970s as the market for global tourism grew a new style of restaurant cooking had emerged from France. Known as *nouvelle cuisine* it allowed chefs to create dishes and then describe them on the menu without using the somewhat archaic terminology of traditional haute cuisine. It has become a global style and is important because this form of cooking presented chefs and food outlets with greater scope to describe dishes colloquially, and simultaneously to promote locally sourced ingredients. It is also important to consider the menu as an important marketing tool in tourism. They not only provide information about the food available, its source and quality, but increasingly about the character of the

establishment and chef to the consumers. Cohen and Avieli (2004: p.770) suggests that the menu is a 'culinary equivalent of a geographical map guiding the customer through the fare offered by the establishment'. Cohen cites Ferguson (1981) who describes the menu as a simplified register'.

Prior to the introduction of *nouvelle cuisine* most hotel and restaurant menus were written using the conventions and restrictions of commercial culinary French. This was largely developed in the nineteenth century by the influential chef Escoffier (who, with the hotelier Cesar Ritz had made eating out in a restaurant socially acceptable). During the 1970s a new style of restaurant and hotel emerged in Devon with Gidleigh Park near Chagford as a country house hotel and the Carved Angel restaurant in Dartmouth, which specialised in the use of local produce. Such new outlets plus well established hotels such as the Imperial in Torquay added status to the experience of dining out. The tourist in Devon seems to have had considerable choice in eating out, unlike Cornwall. According to Gore (1975: p.12) 'Cornwall in high summer is no gastronomic paradise since its own food sources are totally inadequate to meet the influx of tourists'. Mooney's *Healthy Holiday Guide* (1989) is indicative of the emerging consumer interest in *healthy food* and offers advice for vegans, vegetarians, and those interested in the wholefood and organic movement. However, Henrietta Green's 1993 *Food lovers' guide to Britain* provides advice for those travellers interested in sourcing local produce. Green (1993: p. 5) asserts there is good quality produce available but that it is 'more than a pretty label or old-fashioned image'. Such guides are important as they represent that growing sector of the travelling public to whom food is important.

### **3.7.11 Post Millennium**

By the early years of the twenty-first century there has been a proliferation of food guides, and information about food in addition to the county guides. These complement the increase in opportunities to eat out, and buy and experience food in the county. In addition it is important to note that they are indicative of the wider interest in local food, sustainable production, sourcing and information. Details of food festivals, markets, artisan producers,

organic and Michelin-starred restaurants now appear as incentives to visit Devon. Indicative of these interests Jaine (1998: p.8, p.57) produced a '*Good food guide in the West Country*'. It represented an association of establishments using local produce and cookery that 'reflects the locality'. Jaine suggests that agriculture and cookery are locked into a single cycle, and strongly recommends the use of local produce, and its communication to diners. The diversity of the county in terms of places to eat out ranging from 'luxurious country house hotel to the small farm that grows and nurtures its own food' is suggested as one reason why Devon is a county where 'locality is most emphasized'.

### **3.8 Conclusions**

The literature reveals much about Devon as a tourist destination and establishes that food is an important and interdependent part of its attraction. There is an enduring interest in the history, tradition and folklore associated with food, which can be regarded as a form of nostalgia or yearning to find things as they used to be. In the era of post-modernism the culinary past is important in attracting tourists to the county. As tourists search for authenticity some traditional methods of food production have been revived. Food means more than sustenance, it becomes an experience as tourists search for the new and different.

It would appear that Devon as a tourist destination benefits in times of adversity. From the days of the Napoleonic wars to the twentieth century world wars and economic depression, and the twenty-first century with the devastating effects of foot-and-mouth to the *staycation* phenomenon in the aftermath of a global economic recession (taking holidays at home rather than 'overseas'), the county is still a major destination. Webber et al (2010: p. 65) report a period of relatively strong economic growth from 2000 to 2008 during which inbound tourism income grew at an average rate of 3.3 per cent each year. Tourism is suggested as being adversely affected by the global economic downturn, but the effects on tourism spending in the UK may induce substitution from outbound to domestic tourism. Webber's 2010 observations suggest that 'staycation effects are likely to have been supported by the depreciation of sterling' and may result in an increase in inbound tourism. In terms of food

and Devon this is important as tourists are motivated and encouraged to visit the county and sample its food.

Food tourism represents an important stage in the evolution and relationship between food and tourism. However, there is food in tourism but also food and tourism, which has a different meaning as food for tourists is often provided for a non-tourist market. The interest in both food and tourism has changed in many ways. During the timeline, generations at the beginning and end are discovered to share an interest in the county and its food but at the same time have different levels of interests. Current concern with the source of food is currently linked to sustainable environmental, eco and ethical issues. At the beginning of the twentieth century the interest in food appeared to be aesthetic and out of curiosity. The term food tourism has now become widely used.

As food becomes an increasingly significant part of lifestyle, food for pleasure and leisure assumes a greater role in the economy of the county. More discerning, well informed and sophisticated tourists tend to regard eating out whilst away from home as an important social activity and part of the tourism experience. This transcends hospitality provision, which implies the commercial provision of food in hotels and restaurants. The consumption of food as part of the tourism experience is wide ranging including eating out in restaurants and cafes, food festivals, visits to farms, markets, farm shops, food trails, cookery schools and the food souvenir.

The provision of food for the visiting public is a vital economic activity for the county. The relationship between food and tourism is constantly evolving. From the early references of Risdon and Defoe to Slow Food and organic produce the county has been famous for the quality of the food it produces. For many visitors to the county food is an attraction. This runs as a thread throughout the historical sources. Food, its production, processing and ultimately consumption have fascinated generations from the travellers to the mass market, and now the niche market. The current culinary market might appear to offer diverse and sophisticated choices to consumers, but in many ways it relies on the traditional components identified in the historical data for its success.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Methodology**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the research methodology selected for the thesis. It explains why a mixed method qualitative approach was considered appropriate for a study which investigated the development of a relationship through an extended timescale. Veal (2006: p.196) distinguishes qualitative methods as requiring a more flexible approach in design and conduct than quantitative which is described as distinct and following a pre-planned sequence. Qualitative research is described as requiring a more ‘fluid relationship between the various elements of the research’.

This *recursive* approach in contrast to the sequential method is considered an ongoing process in that ‘the hypothesis formation evolves as the research progresses’ and that data analysis and collection may ‘take place concurrently’. This is demonstrated in the mixed method style which attempts to legitimate use of multiple approaches, Burke-Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004: p. 17). Data collection procedures include the identification and supply of primary and secondary resources in conjunction with archival research, semi-structured

interviews, oral histories and the choice of Devon as a case study. An important aspect of the qualitative data collection process (in the context of this thesis) is working with words and memories. It is these, garnered from the experiences of industry and consumers that are invaluable in developing our understanding of the ways in which the relationships between food and tourism have evolved.

It is evident that research covering a long century will incorporate a variety of research techniques and components; these are shown in table 4.1.

**Table 4.1 The research components**

#### **Food and tourism in Devon**

<b>1 Data required, temporal, 20<sup>th</sup> century, archival, oral histories, Demand, tourists and supply, industry</b>	<b>2 qualitative methodology – words and memories</b>
<b>3 Pilot interview and questionnaire</b>	<b>4 Online questionnaire, in-depth interviews, archival research, case study, analysis,</b>

Source, author



From the objectives shown in table 4.2 it is apparent that the data required will be qualitative, temporal, time-based and historic.

**Table 4.2 Research objectives and data sources**

<b>Objectives/ Data required</b>	<b>Primary data Oral history <i>Supply</i></b>	<b>Primary data Oral history <i>Demand</i></b>	<b>Archival resources</b>	<b>Secondary data</b>	<b>Field /case study</b>
<b>1</b>  <b>To investigate &amp; establish the relationships between food and tourism in Devon</b>	*	*	*		
<b>2</b>  <b>To provide an overview of the development of tourism through the 20<sup>th</sup> century</b>			*	*	*
<b>3</b>  <b>To identify past</b>	*	*	*		

<b>and current provision of food for tourists visiting the county</b>					
<b>4</b> <b>To explain trends and patterns in the provision of food for tourists in Devon</b>			*	*	

Source, author

Qualitative research, through oral histories, and archival research favours a mixed method approach - the third paradigm Burke- Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, 2004. Bryman (2001: pp. 287-288) contrasts between quantitative and qualitative research indicating that qualitative research is concerned with ‘words, contextual understanding, rich deep data’, and that the researcher is close to the respondent. This is in contrast to a quantitative approach which is suggested as being concerned with numbers and hard reliable data. A critique of qualitative research suggests that it may be ‘too subjective and difficult to replicate’ (ibid: pp. 287 – 288), and that the scope of the findings of qualitative investigations is restricted. A lack of transparency is also suggested by Bryman as a further criticism of qualitative research. However the benefits of the researcher being close to the respondents and developing a contextual understanding of the relationships between food and tourism favour qualitative methodology. Contrasts between quantitative and qualitative research are shown in table 4.3. These emphasise the significance of the word and the relationship between the researcher and the participant, in this instance tourists and those involved in tourism and food production.

**Table 4.3 Contrasts between quantitative and qualitative research**

<b>Quantitative</b>	<b>Qualitative</b>
Numbers	Words
Point of view of researcher	Point of view of participants

Researcher distant	Researcher close
Theory testing	Theory emergent
Static	Process
Structured	Unstructured
Generalization	Contextual understanding
Hard, reliable data	Rich, deep data
Macro	Micro
Behaviour	Meaning
Artificial settings	Natural settings

Source, Bryman, 2001

The chapter opens with an overview of the research aims and objectives in section 4.2. This is followed by a discussion of the twentieth century timescale of the research, in section 4.3. The temporal evolution of the relationships between food and tourism in the context of a specific setting, Devon, is central to the thesis. Expressed as five discrete but interconnected eras each contributes to the twentieth century evolution and development of food and tourism relationships.

Sections 4.4 and 4.4.1 describe the geographical scope of the research describing why Devon was selected as a case study. The data required from archival sources, interviews online questionnaires and the case study is presented in section 4.5 including a description of the tradition of recording oral histories and their potential as research resources. This is followed by a discussion of developing an understanding of the development of tourism within a regional environment. The uses of oral histories and tourism in relation to a specific location such as Devon have not really been examined in detail before. Abrams (2010: p.18) describes oral history as a creative and interactive methodology that encourages the researcher to investigate the ‘layers of meaning and interpretation contained within people’s memories’. Holidays are featured in some oral histories possibly as an episode in a life story, and an individual’s life cycle. An important example are holidays taken by children as a family occasion or a group event such as the annual Sunday School outing. They are therefore important recollections, but tend not to be used in the context of this research which has tourism and food as its focus. Therefore it is, as yet, a largely underused resource and means of recording leisure experiences over an extensive timescale, and in relation to food.

A discussion of the qualitative research methodology follows in sections 4.6 and 4.7. A discussion of the analysis tools is presented in section 4.8. The results of content, thematic, textual and discourse analysis are found in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

#### **4.2 The aims of the research and its objectives**

The aims are to research the relationships that have evolved between food and tourism in Devon and to show how the attraction of food has developed and advanced through the twentieth century.

The research objectives;

- 1 To investigate and establish the relationships between food and tourism in Devon.
- 2 To provide an overview of the development of tourism in Devon through the twentieth century.
- 3 To identify past and current provision of foods for tourists visiting the county.
- 4 To explain trends and patterns in the provision of food for tourists in Devon.

As the thesis intends to show how relationships between food and tourism have evolved through the twentieth century there is an emphasis on the application of archival resources.

Objective 1, to investigate and establish the relationships between food and tourism in Devon, and Objective 3, to identify past and current provision of foods for tourists visiting the county using data derived from the oral histories (tourists and those involved in the production of food for tourists) and archive resources. Relationships between food and tourism in Devon is identified principally through oral histories derived from those who had stayed in Devon as a tourist and those involved in the provision of food for tourists. Where temporal gaps emerge in the collection of oral histories, that is eras beyond personal recall such as the first quarter of the twentieth century, the use of apposite archival resources would be required. These may include diaries, journals and reverse side messages of postcards, (Mellinger, 1994: p.774). An historic overview would be provided using apposite academic, scholarly and significant text books; Harris (1907) Clunn (1929) and Middleton (2005). This is supported with the use of archival data in the form of reports and location specific items such as resort and county guides. As indicated in table 4.9 archival resources, secondary data and materials derived from field work are used in the data collection process. Through the collection of data for objectives 1 and 2 it is possible to distinguish foods provided for tourists throughout the twentieth century timescale. However, additional resources for example menus, brochures, resort and travel guides could be used to verify and enhance the data required. Spencer (2000) and Drummond (1957) describe the prevailing dietary trends of the twentieth century but these provide little detail of the foods consumed by tourists. The distinction of food consumption for pleasure, leisure and as a tourist activity is important in the evolution of relationships between food and tourism. This extends beyond meals consumed in hotels and restaurants to food as an experience and food as a souvenir. It is an area that appears to have been overlooked in tourism research.

Objective 2, to provide an overview of the development of tourism in Devon through the twentieth century, indicates the further use of archival resources. These include reports and materials identified during field work, for example visits to the Riverford Field kitchen and Farm shop, Food Festivals (Plymouth, Exeter, Crediton and Tavistock), Farmers' Markets (Crediton, Tiverton, Exeter and Tavistock), and to trace the locations of Deller's Cafes.

Objective 4, to identify trends and patterns in the provision of food for tourists utilises a combination of archive resources and secondary data. The data provided from both demand

(tourists) and supply (providers of food) plus secondary materials are used in the explanation of the provision of food for tourists. Trends and patterns emerge over a period of time in the twentieth century time frame. The eras indicate changes and fashions in consumption including food. Food trends and patterns are identified in historical studies of gastronomy, (Tannahill 1975, Mennell 1985, and Spencer 2000), but not in the context of tourist consumption and one place over the period of a century. The investigation of tourists' food consumption is important as this does not only focus on commercial outlets but includes food as a souvenir and that consumed in the domestic domain, for example self-catering holidays.

It is important to note that archival resources will be used in the collection of data for each objective forming an academic interface and conduit. The research objectives and principal data sources are shown in table 4.2 indicating the significance and contributions of each data source.

#### **4.3 The timescale of the research**

A timescale of the twentieth century c.1900 -2000 spanning the rise of mass tourism was identified as providing an appropriate period in which to investigate the evolution of tourism in the county. Shorter time periods, for example a decade or specific year would not favour an evolutionary study. A major focus of the research is to investigate the relationships that have emerged and developed between food and tourism during the period of the timescale. A long century might be regarded as ambitious; however it is important to consider that it does provide considerable scope for investigating the multi-disciplinary evolutionary dimension which is central to the thesis. A long century affords the researcher numerous opportunities to identify trends and patterns in the context of food and tourism.

The century can be presented for research purposes as five distinct eras that reflect the development of twentieth century tourism. (See Chapter 3, pp, 85 – 100). It is a period of great change and development, socially, politically and technologically. This is reflected in the growth of tourism and leisure. From the belle époque to green and global tourism, by using a period of approximately a hundred years - a '*long century*' - the evolution of the

industry and its relationships with food can, in some ways, be measured, compared and contrasted.

Within this timescale there is still a significant (but diminishing) opportunity to benefit from the experience of tourists (and providers) through the use of oral histories and the long-term memories of respondents. The county has a lengthy association with tourism which in turn ensures a potential resource base of tourists and those associated with the industry. Archive collections holding resources such as guide books, postcards, photographs, directories and newspapers can be used to substantiate the qualitative data collected.

Thus by using a long-term study, evolving aspects of the food and tourism relationship may be identified. Towner (1995: p. 339) indicates that it is often the grand tour, seaside resort or exotic journey that ‘have created a particular view of how tourism has evolved over time’ but that we should not overlook the everyday events as they too are often important in the development of tourism. An underlying aim of this research would be to show how Devon’s tourism has, in many instances been influenced (and often associated with) by the seemingly mundane and rural and how these have played an important part in the evolution of tourism in the county. For example the daily routine of the farm is frequently identified in tourism literature and imagery. The ways in which these and other experiences have featured in tourism are investigated throughout the timescale of the research.

The focus of this thesis is the *evolving relationships* (and thus its development) between *food* and *tourism* in Devon during the twentieth century. Given the duration of the timescale, and that tourism *per se* can be described as a relationship between consumers and suppliers, the potential relationships and choices of data collection present a wide range of research opportunities.

Although considerable research has been conducted in the area of *food and tourism*, Devon, or one resort, does not appear to have been used as a case study. The history of tourism in the twentieth century United Kingdom is described by Pimlott (1976), Middleton (2005) and

although references to West Country resorts are included these pay little attention to food, (See Chapter 3). Similarly historical and topical studies of gastronomy and food tend to offer only superficial references to tourism, (Spencer, 2000, Trewin 2010).

The combination of an apparent gap in the historiography of the relationships between food and tourism with a longitudinal and qualitative approach favours ethnographic research. Other methods might be considered, and it would be possible to draw on existing quantitative data such as regional and national surveys in the construction of a longitudinal study. However, this would exclude much of the potentially rich personal information and detail required to establish how and why relationships between food and tourism have evolved. Finn (2000: p. 9) cites Bryman who suggests that ‘qualitative research can focus on small scale aspects of the project; it may also allow a broader range of issues to be addressed by the research’. These include the narrative strands of consumers, suppliers and regulators. Hoover and Donovan (2004: pp. 144-145) support the use of qualitative research suggesting that responses to surveys ‘need to be supplemented by long interviews and other forms of qualitative evidence gathering’.

In the context of this topic a ‘broader range of issues’ has been identified that show how food becomes part of the tourism experience before, during, and after its consumption. These are extensive including eating out in hotels, restaurants and cafes, food as an activity/experience, self-catering, eating with friends and relatives, and food as a souvenir. They present the researcher with new and exciting research opportunities that have not been explored before in the context of Devon.

Longitudinal research is concerned with the collection and analysis of data over a period of time. Ruspini (2000: p. 1) states that ‘longitudinal research can potentially provide fuller information about individual behaviour’. Ruspini cites Menard in suggesting that among the advantages of this type of study is that it allows the analysis of duration, and permits the measurement of change over time. Hakim (1987) is cited as identifying ‘sleepers effects, connections between events that are widely separated in time’. Menard (1991: p. 4) defines longitudinal research as ‘analysis involving comparison of data between or among periods’ and that it can be defined in terms of both the data and methods of analysis used in the research. It is suggested that longitudinal research serves two purposes which are central to



the data collection. These are ‘to describe patterns of change and to establish the direction and magnitude of causal relationships’. Change is typically measured using one of ‘two continua, chronological time or age’ Menard (1991: p. 4). Time is measured externally to the respondents whose age is relative to the study and its timescale.

A study that looks at the development of an industry and its related activities over time trails its changes and ultimately its evolution. The timescale can be represented using five distinct eras. Each is significant in the development of tourism nationally and within the county.

The proposed timescale covers approximately 100 years which is sub-divided into five distinct eras. These are shown in table 4.4. Each is significant in terms of tourism development in the United Kingdom, and each shows its evolution within the county. At the beginning of the twentieth century tourism in the county was characterised by the expanding resorts such as Torquay, Paignton and Lynmouth, and Devon’s lush hinterland. A century later it is the county’s landscape, history and culture that are the major attractions and appeal to an international clientele. Food features in each era and is sometimes regarded as a catalyst for change and development. Du Rand and Heath (2006: p. 7) writing in the early years of the twenty-first century indicate that ‘local food enhances the appeal of a destination and eating is an important activity for tourists once at the destination.’ The growing interests in local foods (and food as an activity) from the perspectives of both tourist (demand) and those involved in the industry (supply) forms an important part of the research.

**Table 4.4 The five timescale eras**

1 The belle époque the ‘turn of the century’ up to 1914 and World War One
2 The inter-war and depression era 1918 up to 1939 (+ World War Two)
3 The post-war (World War Two) era from austerity to Development of Tourism Act, 1969
4 The 70s to 1989 review of the Development of Tourism Act

## 5 2000+ the era of regeneration, green and eco growth

Source, author

The timescale eras of the research in table 4.4 provide a temporal framework for investigating the relationships between food and tourism. Table 4.5 extends these indicating a number of important factors emerging from the literature reviews in chapters two and three and preliminary archival research that influenced the structure of the interviews and questionnaires. The five eras show how food and tourism may be presented in a wider context and the example of food alludes to changes dating from the early twentieth century linked to later interests in health, food sourcing and technology.

Table 4.6 extends the food and tourism dimension linking the development of commercial hospitality outlets in tourism to changes in consumption patterns. It identifies stages in the evolution of tourists' eating out from the guest houses and cafes to food festivals and the Michelin Star dining experience.

Table 4.7 presents differences in consumer taste and consumption in the context of Fordist characteristics. These identify changes from the 1950s and represent an important stage in the evolution of the food and tourism relationship. It is important to reflect that food encounters change over time. This is illustrated in the shift from Fordist patterns of mass consumption in the 1950s to an era of niche markets and a demand for local produce in the late twentieth century. The opportunities for tourists to encounter food are shown in table 4.8 which illustrates three stages, pre, during and post-tourism experience. In terms of tourism these are constant through the timescale but over time the experience evolves and is significant in the provision and consumption of food whether eating out or food as a souvenir.

The evolutionary processes identified in food and tourism influenced the data collection process, from archival research to questionnaire design and in-depth interview.

**Table 4.5 The historical and evolutionary dimension of food and tourism**

<b>Era/tourism phenomena</b>	<b>1&gt; 1914</b>	<b>2&gt;1939</b>	<b>3&gt;1969</b>	<b>4&gt;1989</b>	<b>5&gt;2000+</b>
<b>Food</b>	Formal dining Tea shops Cafes	‘English folk cookery Association’	From austerity to affluence  Eating out	Fast Food  Nouvelle Cuisine c1975	‘Fine dining’  Fusion cuisine  ‘Celebrity’ food culture  Food Festivals  Organic/local
<b>Technology</b>	Transport  Communication	Rail, motor car, bicycle, aeroplane	Air  Private car  Caravan	Long haul travel	Electronics  Carbon footprint  Communication

<b>Leisure</b>	Leisured classes	1938 Holidays with Pay Act	Leisure time	Leisure pursuits	Health, fitness, wellness
<b>Tourism</b>	Seaside, resort & countryside holidays	Growth of mass tourism >	1969 Development of Tourism Act	Growth of global tourism	Eco tourism Experience economy
<b>Agriculture</b>	Produce Scenery- rusticity	Farm holidays	Farmhouse Bed and Breakfast campsites	Diversification 'Holiday Lets' Farm tourism	Foot & Mouth Organics Farmers' Markets Local produce
<b>Socio- economic</b>	WW1  Belle époque	WW2  Depression	Post WW2  Growth Post-modern	  Post-Fordist	  Neo-Fordist

Source, author

**Table 4.6 Food and tourism the evolutionary process**

<b>Timescale</b>	<b>1900 &gt; 1914</b>	<b>&gt; 1939</b>	<b>&gt; 1969</b>	<b>&gt; 1989</b>	<b>&gt; 2000+</b>
<b>Food</b>	Traditional  Commercial	Traditional  Commercial	Traditional  Commercial	Fast food  Eclectic	Organic
<b>Food/tourism</b>	Guest house  Resort hotel  Cafes	Guest house  Resort hotel  Cafes	Country  House  Hotels	Eating out	Food Tourism  Festivals  Fine dining

					(Michelin stars)
<b>Tourism</b>	Resorts	Resorts	Resorts  Holiday camps	Holiday homes  Short breaks	Sustainable
<b>Fordist –</b>  <b>Post Fordist</b>  <b>Neo Fordist</b>			Fordist	Post Fordist	Neo Fordist

Source: Author

**Table 4.7 Fordist, Post-Fordist and Neo-Fordist tourism characteristics – the food dimension**

<b>Fordist tourism 1950s</b>	<b>Food</b>	<b>Post Fordist tourism 70s/80s</b>	<b>Food</b>	<b>Neo Fordist tourism 1990s...</b>	<b>Food</b>
‘Mass tourism’	Mass produced food, staged and adapted	Niche market Specialised Flexible	Degree of sophistication	Niche market Mass tourism  Flexible specialisation	Niche foods

	authenticity				
Staged authenticity	Local, traditional outlets	Desire authenticity	Quest/search for perceived reality in food	Desire reality mass customisation	Demand for original, and qualities in food
Economies of scale	Mass production ubiquitous products	Small--scale small batch	Some specialisation	Mass customisation	Change in consumer
McDonald-ization Disneyfication USA influence	Restaurant chains outlets	De-McD De-Disney Reaction against mass production	Green/eco interests	Corporate consumption	Changing tastes niche markets

Source: Author

From the 1950s changes in consumer tastes can be observed. Following the growth in mass tourism and Fordist consumption whereby goods and services were packaged, and to an extent standardised this was reflected in the choice of holiday and food. Consumption was encouraged through mass production. By the 1970s there was a reaction against mass production and there was a growth in interest in green and eco products. Toward the end of the twentieth century mass market consumption was challenged by a new generation of niche market products, and differentiation. Although the search for authenticity can be identified in each stage this has changed as consumers become more knowledgeable and discerning about their choice of holiday, destination and food. It is important to consider that in conjunction with these changes the opportunities for food consumption have increased. These can be summarised as potential food encounters and are presented in table 4.8.

**Table 4.8 Potential food encounters in tourism**

Stage	Opportunity
1 Pre-tourism experience	Publicity/promotion/marketing/internet  Tourism media  Food souvenir as a gift
2 During tourism experience	Self-catering, meals eaten out, VFR, attractions and activities, impulse buys, local produce, souvenirs
3 Post-tourism experience	Souvenirs as gifts or for consumption, extending and sharing the tourism experience

Source, author

Throughout the timescale of the research there is evidence to suggest that tourists have been able to access food, and information about it, from tourist regions and destinations. However, the opportunities have evolved with developments in technology and marketing techniques. In the early part of the twentieth century most tourists learnt about the food of Devon through guide books such as Ward Lock's *Lynton and Lynmouth* (1919: p.xviii) edition which described food and accommodation available including hotels, guest houses, temperance and commercial hotels and 'at a number of farmhouses visitors can be boarded with delightful simplicity and true farmhouse fare'. By the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries a wide range of materials is available. The use of the internet provides 'virtual' food encounters and a greater depth of information about food, its origins and production. This reflects a wider interest in many issues but is significant in tourism, as destination choice may be affected by food.

During the tourism experience the opportunities to experience food have increased and diversified. Whereas tourists throughout the timescale may have been able to use hotels and

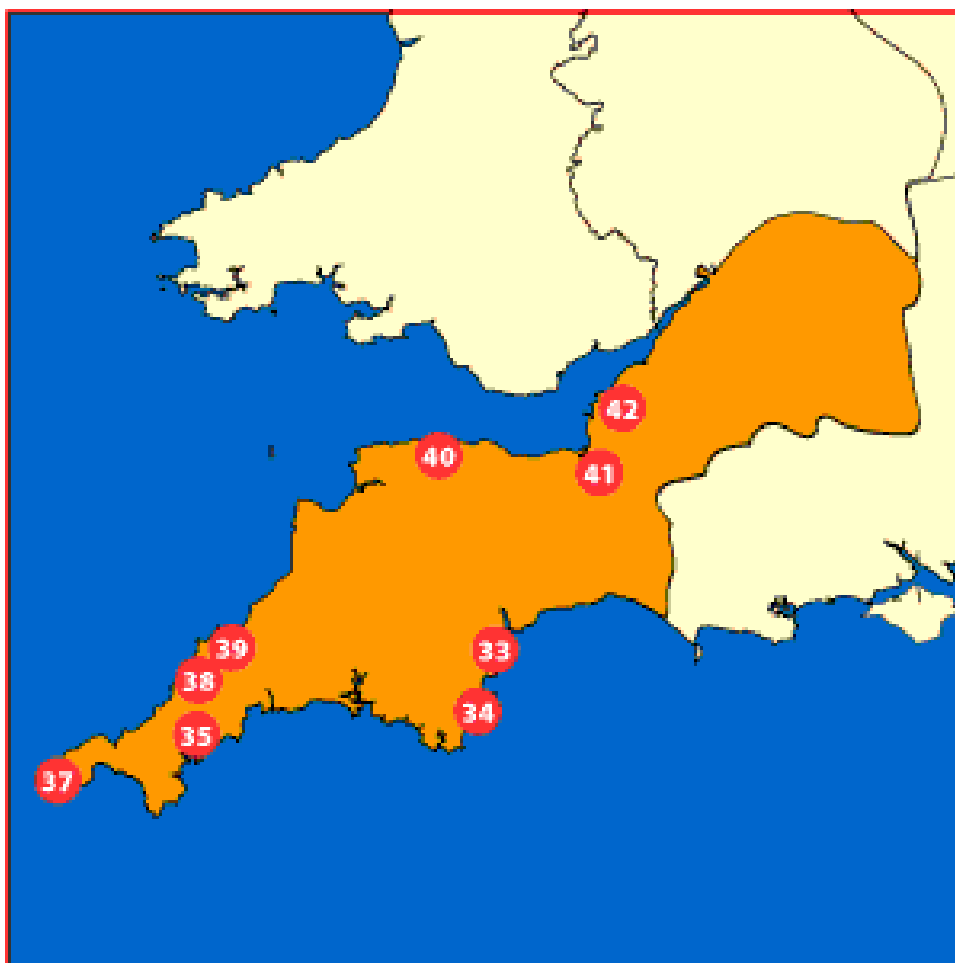
farms these have changed and evolved. The timescale is central to the research and data collection influencing the use of archival resources and the sampling framework.

#### **4.4 The geographical scope of the research**

Devon is situated in the south west peninsula of England, between Cornwall, Somerset and Dorset shown in figure 4.1. The county has many associations with food and tourism. It has a long and rich history of agriculture and farming which are closely linked to its tourism. Devon's location, climate, varied landscapes and scenery have attracted tourists and travellers for generations.

A unique combination of topography and heritage has contributed to the county's enduring appeal, Harris (1907), Duncan, (1954) and Trewin (2010). From the days of its spas and seaside resorts to holiday camps the county has long appealed to a wide clientele. This is illustrated in *The Book of Fair Devon* (1899-1900: p. 6) which aimed to 'give Devon that proud position among the beauty spots of the world to which she is so well entitled'. However the relationships between its tourists and food have not been a subject for research. Figure 4.2, a tourist map, *Beautiful Devon*, shows the county and its major tourist centres.





**Figure 4.1 Map showing the South west as represented by British Resorts and Destinations 2008 (South West Tourism)**

Key;

33 - South Devon
34 - English Riviera
35 - Cornwall
37 - West Cornwall, Land's End Peninsula
38 - Newquay
39 - North Cornwall
40 - North Devon and Exmoor
41 - Burnham-on-Sea, Cheddar
42 - Weston-super-Mare, Clevedon

It is important to note that Devon is rich in tourist centres. It has the contrasting north and south coasts, the moorlands of Dartmoor and part of Exmoor, urban centres including Plymouth and Exeter, and a rural landscape. These are frequently presented in tourist maps and literature. For example as shown in map 4.2 Beautiful Devon, and sometimes in the form of souvenir postcards.

Figure 4.2 map 2 illustrates the advantage of Devon's location in terms of tourism. In the context of the South West Devon has the advantage of being situated close to other popular tourist resorts in Cornwall, Somerset and Dorset. It could be argued that the county benefits from a tourism complementarity and that the county attracts many tourists from its neighbours.

**Figure 4.2 Map, Beautiful Devon tourist map**



Source, [www.beautiful.devon.com](http://www.beautiful.devon.com)

#### **4.4.1 Devon as a case study**

Devon was identified as the case study location as it had not been used as such in the food and tourism context of the research. The county has been the subject of tourism studies but not with a focus of food, and timescale of a century. The use of case studies in tourism research is not without its critics, Xiao and Smith (2006: pp. 739 – 748) citing Oppermann (2000) argue that whilst urging tourism researchers to ‘add knowledge to the field rather than producing more and more cases studies of limited scientific value’, tourism knowledge has been characterised by case studies. A case study approach is advised as being versatile and used to address a wide variety of themes or topics. Devon as a case study presents a distinctive opportunity for investigating evolving food and tourism relationships in the context of destination and place of food production.

#### **4.5 Data Sources**

The potential sources of information for food and tourism research are substantial. However they are also diverse and disparate, including primary and secondary data. A number of resources are located in the county but some, for example, the trade press are available on-line or stored in other collections and libraries. The location and accessibility of archival resources is therefore an important consideration when planning the data collection process. Representing a rich and varied supply the data spans the time frame. There are five principal data sources shown in table 4.9.

**Table 4.9 Data Sources**

1 Oral histories, life and work, demand – the tourists
2 Oral histories, life and work, supply- the industry
3 Archival resources
4 Secondary data

5 Field/case study materials
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Source, author

#### **4.5.1. Oral histories, recording life histories and narratives in tourism**

It is through the oral histories that key informants will be identified. Wolcott (1990: p.195) describes a key informant as an individual who appears well-informed, is articulate, approachable and available. The oral histories are an important source of data as the research aims to investigate their relationships with food and tourism over time. The data derived from archival, secondary and field study sources is frequently utilised in support and verification of the life and work histories.

The events and progress of the twentieth century have provided many opportunities and much material for oral history. The century saw two devastating world wars, huge advances in technology and dramatic changes in social structures and lifestyles. Maybe it is these that have contributed to the interest in the relatively recent past ‘in living memory’ and finding out more about the way things were from those who experienced them. With rapid advancements change is often more visible, and apparent, and with this comes a desire to retain elements of the distant or recent past.

Elements of the past, including food, have been used for many years in tourism and there are numerous examples of historic and nostalgic themed attractions and activities. Restored industrial sites such as Morwellham Quay in Devon show visitors how a 19th century working-class copper mining community functioned, and now emphasises the role of farming and the production of local food in such a community. Conversely the National Trust, in preserving historic homes, is able to present both the lifestyle (including food) of gentry and servants to its visitors. Thus the past is often presented to tourists as an attraction and food provides numerous ways in which to engage tourists with an attraction.

Presenting the past of whatever social scale extends to the experience of food which can be discovered from period menus, artefacts and documents. The quest by the tourists to find the

authentic experience at such attractions relies to an extent on recorded experiential memories and accounts. The use of oral histories supports such endeavours by recording original and personalised data which helps authenticate and verify events. With the passage of time the value of these records increases and for many tourists (and researchers) they provide an emotive link with the past.

A significant example of tourists' awareness of the past was revealed in the early twentieth century interest in country life. This is identified in chapter 5, and in the literature reviewed in chapters 2 and 3 indicating inquisitiveness about the lifestyle of the *cottagers* and the farming community. Although this was often registered in text or image it was not until later in the century that technology enabled it to be recorded orally. Thus a means of permanently preserving memories and recollections in the words, language, sounds and dialect of the individuals concerned greatly enhanced the research collection process.

This has been supported by the use of oral histories, recording the experiences of all sectors of society. A curiosity about the past is not an exclusively twentieth century phenomenon but the pace of change and development of technology contributed to a curiosity about traditions and lifestyles that were changing and disappearing. Recording techniques including photography and sound-recording devices enable historians and researchers to register events discreetly and instantly. Thus permanent records can be stored and used by researchers from many disciplines. The British Library Sound Archive, which includes collections such as the Millennium Memory Bank and the Survey of English Dialects provide an additional source of data, and some references to food and holidays in Devon. These are important as food and holidays in the experience of everyday life are recalled. Examples drawn from farming communities show the role of food in the economy of the farm and the division of labour as demonstrated in the production of clotted cream which was normally made by the farmer's wife.

The mid-twentieth century ground-breaking work of Studs Terkel in North America, George Ewart Evans, and the Oral History Society in the United Kingdom has encouraged and

inspired the collection and use of oral histories. Finkel (2002: p. 7) suggests that Terkel's work in recording the effects of the American depression in the 1930s emphasised the importance of the testimony of the *man on the street*, those who wouldn't even make a footnote. In England Ewart Evans (1972: pp. 56-7), who had recorded rural life in Sussex, states that the collecting of oral evidence has been 'the technique of anthropology for many years', and that his subjects - 'old survivors' - were regarded as *living books*, and collectively as *living history*.

It is important to learn from these pioneers some of the techniques of interviewing such as the use of appropriate artefacts as prompts and the importance of accurate transcriptions. Samuel (1972: pp. 19-22) suggests that the collector of the spoken word, oral memory and tradition is privileged. As an archivist and historian the collector (researcher) is involved in 'retrieving and storing priceless information which could be lost forever'. Throughout the interview process the privilege of memories being shared, often for the first time, was noted by the researcher as an important feature of the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee.

The traditions of recording life stories and oral histories in the twentieth century are developing, for example the post war shopper narratives recorded by Nell et al (2009). Whether through the use of film, observation or recording an interest in finding out about the past appears to be widely used in educational and community projects and as a means of recording family histories. Hannay (2002; p.515) suggests that lives which have spanned the 20<sup>th</sup> century have experienced many changes, from 'horses and carts to men on the moon'. Recordings of oral history are suggested as providing the researcher with primary data in contrast to the secondary data of historical research. However, it is a combination of oral histories, interviews and archival research that are used in this thesis. In the context of leisure and tourism, life and work stories and oral histories are invaluable in capturing the personal recollections of a particular time and activity. Smith et al (2002; p.517) describe the oral history interview as important in giving a voice to those who inform others about the individual and collective experiences. In conducting a longitudinal study these can enrich the data greatly.

Tribe (2005: pp. 5-8) explores the territory of research in tourism suggesting that as a field of post-modern research tourism presents far greater opportunities for the range of research methods than previously 'narrow boundaries of an applied business field'. A sign of maturity is the emergence of more reflexivity which, it is suggested, encourages the researcher to 'follow innovative and radical lines of enquiry'. Thus the analysis of life history, social history, the analysis of the word, the narrative and oral histories are important in the process of data collection.

The analysis uses discourse analysis, the analysis of narrative and the identification of themes. Ryan (2003: p. 85) states that although theme identification may be regarded as 'one of the most fundamental tasks in qualitative research' it is also 'mysterious'. The themes materialising from the transcriptions are important as there are potentially major themes, (for example holidays, leisure and food), and sub-themes (such as food as a leisure interest), to be identified in a topic that combines more than one activity over a period of time. Thematic analysis identifies significant themes and patterns through reading the text searching for phrases, terms and nuances.

The pilot questionnaire, and interview conducted in June 2008, indicated a strong interest in food and tourism and significantly the desire to talk about and share experiences. The questionnaire, (See Appendix 2) gave respondents the opportunity to note their food experiences but many wanted to discuss these further. Therefore a further, amended questionnaire (See Appendix 3) was prepared for distribution through the Open University staff intranet and student e-newsletter. This provided the opportunity for text responses, and invited respondents to participate in a personal interview. An advantage of the questionnaire was the access it provided to individuals with an interest in the subject. During the discussions with respondents constant references were made to archive resources including postcards, guidebooks and other everyday but significant tourism-derived ephemera. These observations prompted further archival research which is presented in this chapter.

The qualitative interviews were derived from the questionnaires and also from personal contact and snowballing. Respondents to the questionnaires distributed by the Open University were invited to be interviewed. The interviews were classified as demand or supply, that is demand equating to those who had visited Devon as a tourist and supply as those who had an involvement in the provision of food for tourists.

A major advantage of the qualitative interview is the potential for the collection of rich, personal detail and history. Oral histories and narratives encourage the telling of stories and life histories, not only of individuals but of resorts and establishments. Collectively they can assist in the compilation of a unique and detailed picture of tourism activity. Hendry (2007: p. 489) proposes that narrative research can provide a more 'complex and complete picture of social life'. In terms of tourism this is an appropriate method to use as it is aspects of social life and history that are core themes of the research.

#### **4.5.2 Archival resources**

Tourism-related archival resources are mainly located in museums, collections and record offices. The potential for archival resources is considerable as it includes the media and tourism ephemera such as guidebooks and specific resort materials. It is important to note that archival resources are evolutionary. Advances in technology have enabled the 90,000 videos of British Pathe newsreels and social history documentaries to be available on-line. These represent an important resource for researchers. Special collections, for example the Ronald Duncan Archive at the University of Exeter, provide access to the catalogued collection of a specific individual (Duncan, an author and innovative farmer who lived in Devon and writings include numerous references to food and tourism). Additional archives include The Beaford Archive, the Bill Douglas Centre for the History of Cinema and Popular Culture, The West Country Studies Library, South West Film and Television Archive, Devon Record Office, Devon and Exeter Institution, City Library and Royal Albert Memorial Museum. The geographical focus of the research does not restrict archival data collection to Devon; the University of Surrey library, Colindale British Library newspaper collection and



Cornell University's Home Economics Archive Research Tradition and History (HEARTH) proved to be valuable resources.

#### **4.5.3 Archival research**

The use of archival resources is an important feature of the research methodology and enables the researcher to form a link with the past. As the research does focus on the past access will be required to materials that give detail of the county's tourism history. This may take the form of tangible and digitised (intangible) resources. An advantage of such sources is that delicate items or those in a poor physical condition may be protected, and yet remain accessible to the researcher, Sleeman (2002: pp. 91 -93).

Axinn and Pearce (2006: pp. 9 - 10) suggest that for certain research problems archival methods and the use of secondary data are of great importance. For many research problems it is 'often impossible to interview or observe the study population because none are still living'. It is 'written records and previous studies that can provide useful information'. Data from archive resources can be presented in the form of numbers or text. For example resort guides may be analysed for food-related tourism references which can then be presented numerically.

Although the tourism and hospitality sectors are generally not good at keeping records and archives a number of secondary data sources have been identified. These include South West Tourism, The Devon and Exeter Institution, Devon Record Office, West Country Studies Library and Torquay Library and Museum. Each was able to provide invaluable examples of hotel, restaurant, cafe and food producer data.

Tourism specific secondary data such as postcards, regional newspapers and diaries provide an important topical, contemporary and complementary research resource. Postcards and travel guides are important as their semiotic value in addition to text provides a contextual time-based dimension. References to food found in correspondence and diaries can often provide rich period detail indicating the interest and significance of food whether that consumed whilst on holiday or as a souvenir, such as clotted cream. Table 4. 10 identifies some of the advantages of archival research showing that they are available for the timescale of the research and that they may be used to stimulate and verify the data collection process.

**Table 4.10 Advantages and Disadvantages of Archival research**

Advantage	Disadvantage
Available for the timescale of the research from 1900 -2000	Some sources incomplete, location and lack of accessibility
Can be used to prompt and verify data collected during interviews.	May be subjective
Wide range of materials available	Subject to availability/accessibility

Source, author

Yin (2003: p. 86) advises that archival materials (and documents) have an advantage in that they are often precise and quantitative but that there are disadvantages of bias to be considered. A reporting bias may be encountered in the use of the news media and a bias of selectivity ‘where a collection is incomplete’ or where resources are limited by availability. Therefore a combination of resources may have to be used in order to adequately cover the timescale. Table 4.11 identifies some of the major archival resources in Devon used in the data collection process. These were supplemented by online resources for example Mass Observation and items from private collections.

**Table 4.11 Archival sources in Devon**

Archive	Example
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Exeter University Special Collections	Ronald Duncan archive
West Country Studies Library	Postcards, Exeter guidebooks
Devon and Exeter Institution	South West collection
Exeter Central Library	Country Life
Devon Record Office	Besley's directories (Exeter)
Torquay Museum and Library	Tourism in Torbay

Source, author

**Table 4.12 A Comparison of structure, interviewer involvement & researcher involvement among data collection methods.**

<b>Data Collection Method</b>	<b>Level of structure</b>	<b>Interviewer Involvement</b>	<b>Researcher Involvement with study population</b>
Surveys	high	usually	low
Less structured Interviews	low	always	high
Focus Groups	low	always	medium
Observation	low	usually	high
Historical/Archival Methods	out of researcher's control	out of researcher's control	low

(Axinn and Pearce, 2006: p. 10)

It is apparent from table 4.12 that archival methods are structured differently to surveys and have a low level of involvement with the study population. However the archival research complements and extends that data derived from the surveys and interviews.

It is important to note that in many instances the ‘archive’ for tourism is somewhat dispersed and fragmented. The archival resources included visual and written materials in addition to the ephemeral. It is also often an expanding resource as new items are acquired by archives. The Pathe newsreels and Francis Frith postcards are relatively recent additions to archival resources and have the advantage of being accessible on-line. Therefore in order to give a detailed overview of tourism development through the timescale many sources may have to be used. These are discussed in Chapter 6. Examples of the major archival resources utilised in the thesis are shown in table 4.13. These indicate that the written word and photographic image are central to understanding the evolution of twentieth century tourism. Table 4.14, Archival resources ii shows the locations of the major archival resources used in the research. Most historical data was located in the Devon museums and record offices but was supported by the online newspaper resources and Mass Observation records.

**Table 4.13 Archival resources i**

<b>Archival resource</b>	<b>Example</b>
1 Newspaper	Editorial, readers’ letters
2 Magazine	Photo-journalism
3 Private papers/collections	Ronald Duncan – North Devon
4 Newsreel	Pathe 90,000 videos 1896 -1976
5 Postcard	The Frith Collection 1860 - 1970
6 Guidebooks	Exeter and Devon

Source, author

**Table 4.14 Archive resources ii**

<b>Archive source</b>	<b>Resource</b>
University of Surrey (Library)	Caterer and Hotelkeeper
Devon Record Office	Directories, guidebooks, postcards
Devon and Exeter Institution	News media, city and county travel guides, reference books
West Country Studies Library	News media, guidebooks
Exeter Central Library	News media
Torquay Library	Travel guides, ephemera
Torquay Museum	Directories, ephemera
Royal Institute of British Architects	Biography of Paignton architect Henry Hyams
Royal Academy	Details of 1922 exhibition
Colindale (London)  (British Library newspaper section)+  Times online	News media, editorial, readers' letters

Financial Times online	
'Archives Hub' University of Exeter, Special collections and Bill Douglas Centre for the History of Cinema and Popular Culture	Access to online materials and details of 150+ UK universities' and colleges' archives including; Mass Observation

Source, author

Tables 4.13 and 4.14 show how a diverse range of archival resources may be utilised in longitudinal tourism research, in this instance food and tourism. However, Dann et al (1988: pp.15 – 16) caution that use of personal documents such as letters, diaries, journals and postcards may result in the collection of invalid or biased materials and a mixture of valid and invalid data may also be gathered from interviews and questionnaires. Thus data collection does not rely on one source but a combination.

#### **4.5.4 Secondary data**

Secondary data includes reports and statistics collected from the tourist industry, South West Tourism, Visit Britain, and materials from the former British Tourist Authority. A typical example from the early 1970s, *England, The West Country* (1974) provides a resource derived largely from quantitative and descriptive data. Whilst these constitute a valuable and complementary resource it is the personal recollection and written record that are the primary resources drawn on in this thesis. A secondary resource reflecting personal records and observations is Mass Observation's archive (on-line, University of Sussex). This contains reports and diaries resulting from the recording of everyday life in Britain from 1937. Observations embrace holidays, leisure and tourism covering the mid twentieth century, including numerous accounts of the food consumed. Mass Observation began in 1937 with the desire to create 'an anthropology of ourselves' and is closely linked to the discipline of social anthropology in the United Kingdom, (Street 2007).

#### **4.5.5 Field/case study materials**

Field and case study materials were gathered at source during visits to respondents or to collect data regarding food and tourism provision. During a visit to the Combe House Hotel (Gittisham) menus, media articles and brochures supported the interview and contributed to the evolutionary dimension of the archival data collection. Further examples were provided through the Exeter Food Festival, Adam Woolfit (food photographer for Trewin's 2010 Devon Food Book), Riverford Farm, field kitchen (Buckfastleigh) marketing analyst, the Royal Institute of British Architects RIBA, the Royal Academy, and architectural historian Dr. Elain Harwood of English Heritage. These resulted in meeting on an informal basis a range of individuals (including archivists, a food writer, a marketing executive and an architectural historian) who were able to provide valuable data not through formal interview but via a form of 'snowballing' data collection.

#### **4.5.6 Contacts by letter**

During the process of identifying possible contacts for interview or other information letters and emails were sent to individuals with influence and interests in the topic of food and tourism. These included:

##### **4.5.6.1 HRH The Prince of Wales**

Following the publication of a detailed interview in *The National Trust Magazine* (2008: pp. 20 – 23) The Prince of Wales was contacted as his interests in organic farming and traditional methods of food production were closely linked to the food policy of the Trust and tourism.

##### **4.5.6.2 Marguerite Patten OBE**

Prolific food writer, broadcaster and cookery expert, Marguerite Patten at 93 has much experience and knowledge of food through the decades of the research. It is interesting to note that in her letter she links scenery, climate and food. Food is clearly recalled as an important part of her holiday experiences in Devon.

##### **4.5.6.3 Barbara Follett MP**

(2008) Minister for the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (including tourism and creative industries). She was contacted via her web page, this led to contact with the Regional Development Agency.

As a resource their comments reflected diverse but united interests in food and tourism. The significance of the landscape, food production, cookery, and regional dishes were noted. In addition, the economic and cultural values of food to the county in the context of tourism were emphasised.

(See Appendix 4)

#### **4.6 Contextual literature**

An important aspect of the data collection process involved the use of contextual ‘literature’; some sources were derived through archives and libraries, others from private collections. It is important to note that for a longitudinal study numerous resources may be utilised, these are presented in table 4.15 which indicates the extensive coverage of the press, guidebooks and ephemera.

**Table 4.15 Eras covered by literature**

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Era&gt; 1914</b>	<b>&gt; 1939</b>	<b>&gt; 1969</b>	<b>&gt; 1989</b>	<b>&gt; 2000</b>
Trade press	*	*	*	*	*
National “	*	*	*	*	*
Local “	*	*	*	*	*
BTA - VB			*	*	*
Academic/journals				*	*
Academic/books		*		*	*



TS/BHA/IH*				*	*
National Trust			*	*	*
Guide books	*	*	*	*	*
Ephemera**	**	**	**	**	**

Source, author

- \* *TS Tourism Society, BHA British Hospitality Association, IH Institute of Hospitality.*
- \*\* *Postcards, magazines*

As the timescale and eras progress sources of tourism information increase and a body of knowledge is established. The earlier eras up to the post-war period indicate gaps in academic research and statistical sources.

#### **4.7 The plan for interviews and data collection**

The interviews were planned using a number of contacts, each with specific and general knowledge of the county. Respondents were approached by phone or informal meeting and invited to participate. As some of the respondents on the supply side were involved in running hotels and outlets they preferred to be interviewed out of the peak 'holiday season'. Therefore the timescale of the interviews was flexible and extended from July 2008 to April 2010. The collection of archival data was ongoing from 2007.

##### **4.7.1 The data collection process**

Table 4.16 shows the stages of the research and data collection process. This started with archival research and was followed by questionnaires and interviews. Much of the data

collected contributed to the literature reviews and some materials, for example postcards and brochures were used during the interview process. Archival records proved to be important, if sometimes ephemeral, scarce, and difficult resources to locate. Local museums, libraries and record offices combined with national collections such as archive of The Royal Institute of British Architects and Mass Observation contributed collectively to the archive used in this research. Although a time-consuming process, gathering interconnected but disparate materials proved to constitute a valid data source.

**Table 4.16 The data collection process**

2007	2008	2009	2010/11
Archival research Examples; Media Scholarly works Ladell Collection	Archival research Examples; Guide books County Guides Tourism Ephemera	Archival research Examples; Mass Observation Pathe Newsreels Frith Collection – postcards	Archival research Examples; Special Collections Robert Duncan Dr George Black
	Questionnaires (n=37) <i>June Pilot</i> (n=248) <i>Actual OU</i> (Open University) July - September	‘Upstream’ - group meeting	
	Interviews 24	Interviews 8	Interviews 1

	<b>Tourists/industry</b>	<b>Tourists/industry</b>	<b>N=33</b>
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Source, author

Respondents were contacted through the questionnaires distributed at the Geologists conference, on-line through the Open University, direct contact with industry, personal contact, and networking and by using the local press. Potential sources for respondents are indicated in table 4.17. These indicate that respondents may be drawn from a variety of local and national resources. A combination of personal contacts, recommendations and networking provided 72% of the 32 respondents and the Open University 28%.

**Table 4.17 Potential sources for respondents**

1 Western Morning News, (Devon and Cornwall) Editorial feature.
2 Express and Echo, (Exeter and environs).Editorial feature
3 Crediton Courier. (Mid Devon) Editorial feature.
4 Mid Devon Star. (Mid/East Devon) Editorial feature.
5 Open University. National, Staff and alumni.
6 University of Surrey. Alumni face book.
7 Tourism Society. Members in South West of England.
8 Personal contacts, networking, and recommendations, including food writer Marguerite Patten OBE, broadcaster Tony Beard – BBC Radio Devon. (Local) Historians, Dr Todd Gray and Dr John Travis. ‘Upstream’ a community support service initiated by Dr Peter Twomey, Chiddenbrook Surgery, Crediton.
9 National Trust, Regional supervisor – food policy + food writer Sarah Paston-Williams + HRH Prince of Wales.
10 Barbara Follett MP Minister for DCMS (Department of Culture, Media Sport,

Tourism, and Creative Services.
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Source, author

In many cases there was a ‘snowballing’ effect as one contact recommended another or knew someone with an interest in the topic. Snowball sampling is an ‘approach for locating information-rich key informants’. Patton, (1990) The Association of Qualitative Research (AQR) describes this as a process of informal but often invaluable contact. Krippendorf (2004; p. 117) identifies snowball sampling as a multi-stage technique, where additional units of text cause the sample to grow forming a virtual network within the boundaries of the research. It is suggested that an important feature of snowball sampling is intertextuality, as units of text are connected, in this case through the memories and experiences of food and tourism.

An important example was the meeting arranged with ‘Upstream’, the community support group comprising two males and four females ranging in age from 50 to 92. The group met weekly participating in a range of activities designed to stimulate interest and discussion. The meeting yielded two significant interviews and emphasised the significance of artefacts as stimuli and prompts. These are identified in table 4.18. A selection of photographs, guidebooks, postcards, and foodstuffs stimulated discussion and prompted recall, for example the taste and aroma of the clotted cream fudge.

Table 4.18 Tourism stimuli and prompts

Artefact	Comment/memory
Photographic - albums and images	Personalised, empathy, evocative
Fudge ‘Bristow’s of Devon’	Edible, taste, aroma and flavour prompted memories of childhood holidays
Clotted Cream tin	Vintage, nostalgic, ‘I remember.....’

Postcards	Dialect and pictures
Guide books	Knowledge of the area, recognition familiarity

Source; author

#### **4.8 The interview schedule stages: June – September 2008**

The period for conducting the interviews was scheduled for the summer of 2008. In effect this was extended to accommodate respondents working in tourism who were unable to be interviewed in the peak tourism period. The first stage in the process was the identification of respondents and arrangement of interviews. This included contacting the local press and designing the questionnaires.

#### **4.8.1 – June 2008 Identify potential respondents for demand and supply**

##### **4.8.1.1 Demand- Tourists**

The tourists were defined as those who may have visited the county as tourists although they might now be residents. What was their interest in food, how did it affect their experiences, was food a motivation or deterrent. Tourist responses may indicate levels of interest in food and dimensions of food in tourism.

##### **4.8.1.2 Supply - Producers**

Interviews conducted with producers, farmers and artisan producers of food in Devon. It is important to note that not all food will be produced solely for tourists but may also be provided for other markets (local and international), therefore some producers perform a dual role serving two or more markets with the same product.

#### **4.8.2 – June/July 2008 Arrange and commence interviews.**

This was done using telephone and email and mutually convenient times agreed. Interviews sometimes took place in the respondent's workplace or home. Permission was sought to record using a digital voice recorder.

#### **4.8.3 Contacting the media June/July 2008**

The local press requested a form of press release (and in some cases a photograph) for consideration, (See Appendix 1). The newspapers contacted are shown in table 4.19. Where the feature was to be included in local media a theme or headline with popular appeal for the general public was needed. A similar release was prepared by the Open University and distributed on-line.

**Table 4.19 Newspaper sources**

1 Express & Echo, <b>evening paper</b>
2 Western Morning News, <b>daily</b>
3 Mid Devon Star, <b>weekly</b>
3 Crediton Courier, <b>fortnightly</b>
Distribution: on-line, printed copies
Circulation: Devon and Cornwall, parts of Somerset and Dorset.

Source, author

The response rates were disappointing, one response by telephone from the Mid Devon Star. However, during the interviews a number of respondents commented that they had seen the features.

#### **4.8.4 Arrange collection of secondary data using archival resources, from June 2008**

This started with visits to The Devon Record Office, Devon and Exeter Institution and West Country Studies Library where catalogues were used to identify potential resources including postcards, directories and guidebooks. As archival resources are diverse and dispersed the collection of data was extensive and therefore was not constrained by a time limit.

### **4.9 The data collection process**

Following the exploratory archival research conducted in 2007 the next stage in the data collection process was the pilot interview and questionnaire.

These were carried out in June 2008. Schrieber (2008: p. 624). describes a pilot study as ‘a small-scale implementation of a larger study or part of a larger study’ In the case of the research aims and objectives the pilot studies were designed to identify the potential for qualitative research, probe the interest in food and tourism, and the willingness of respondents (both tourists and those involved in the production of food for tourists) to participate and share their tourism experiences with the researcher.

The first stage in the pilot research was an interview on June 5<sup>th</sup> 2008 with June Smith, a well-known Devonian *raconteur*. June’s family had farmed in the county for generations and she represented a diminishing age group who had experienced significant changes in the development of Devon’s tourism. The second stage utilised a questionnaire which was distributed to delegates attending a Geologists Conference hosted in mid Devon on June 28<sup>th</sup> 2008. This presented an opportunity to access a group comprising a wide range of age groups, residents and visitors who were to be served a range of local produce for their lunch. By using two qualitative research tools, both could be evaluated prior to the main process of data collection.

In both cases respondents were keen to discuss and share their experiences of food and tourism in the county. Food appeared to be emotive evoking many memories and much dialogue. In the case of June Smith enlargements of vintage postcards (depicting the production of clotted cream in a Devon farmhouse) were used as a prompt and enhanced the interview.

At the conference delegates were stimulated by the appearance, aroma and taste of many of the regional foods consumed at the lunch. Chou and Downes (2002: p.511) propose that odours are ‘especially evocative reminders of past experiences’ and that these can be traced to food. This is sometimes described as the *Proust phenomenon* ascribed to the literary

anecdote described by Marcel Proust when reminded of his childhood by the Madeleine biscuit. Rubin, Groth and Goldsmith (1984) are cited to the belief that ‘odours evoke older memories than other stimuli’. (The menu was comprised of local foods including farm cheese, meat, clotted cream and strawberries.)

Delegates who were residents also provided valuable comments regarding perceptions of food, and preconceptions held by UK and non-UK tourists. Food in the folklore and culture of the county was discussed and the lack of accessibility to food and commercial hospitality in some areas of the county was identified as a tourism deterrent.

A questionnaire (See Appendix 2) was distributed during the conference which produced significant quantitative data but also indicated a desire in many respondents to talk about their experiences. Both pilots demonstrated how evocative food can be, in this case in conjunction with memories of holidays and tourism. Discussing food acted as a prompt for numerous recollections both from the perspective of the tourists and those engaged in food production and tourism. In many cases wider trends and fashions in food consumption and production may be recalled, for example the propensity for ‘eating out’ through the timescale. In juxtaposition with tourism these are important in the identification of patterns, and ultimately an evolutionary process.

The questionnaire and the interview confirmed the significance, and advantages, of qualitative research and oral histories in the social sciences and an area such as tourism, (and one focused on a case study of a specific location such as Devon). Chattin (2008: p. 553) advocates oral history as ‘one of the oldest, best-known and most often used methods in qualitative research’, and that in many cases it ‘provides information that cannot be gleaned from other sources’ and gives a voice to ‘marginalized peoples whose stories might never have been documented otherwise’. Tosh (1999: pp. 193-197) indicates that what oral history can demonstrate is the ‘essential connectedness of aspects of daily life’ which otherwise may be regarded as ‘discrete social facts’. This is important in tourism research as daily routines are often connected to food and the tourist’s experience. Thompson (1988: p.117) emphasizes the significance of oral history suggesting that while historians study their actors of history



from a distance their characterizations will always risk being misdescriptions, and a scholarly form of fiction. Oral evidence by ‘transforming the *objects* of study into *subjects* makes for a history which is not just richer, more heart-rending, but truer’.

The interviews yielded many stories and much personal history. Riessman (1993: pp.1-5) states that narrative analysis takes as ‘an object of investigation the story itself’. Riessman refers to the first-person accounts by respondents of their experiences, analysis in narrative studies concerned with the way in which the story was told, telling the researcher about the respondents’ experiences. Telling stories about past events is a universal human activity, one of the first forms of discourse learnt as children, ‘everyone has their story’ remarked one respondent. In most instances the respondents were happy to share their stories providing a rich tourism narrative, for some it was cathartic, some shared stories for the first time. The definition of a narrative is not clearly defined, and Riessman (Ibid, 1 – 5) suggests that not all narratives in interviews are stories and individuals relate experiences using a variety of genres.

#### **4.9.1 Pilot interview with June Smith**

**Table 4.20 The pilot interview**

<b>Location</b> June’s home, Fairhaven Farm Gooseford, Okehampton, Devon
<b>Date</b> June 5 <sup>th</sup> 2008
<b>Duration</b> , 3.30 – 5.15pm
<b>Arrangements</b> , interview arranged by phone

Source, author

The pilot interview with June Smith represents an important stage in the data collection process as it opened the food and tourism dialogue. Jennings (2005: p.107) suggests that this is a form of training for the interviewer in listening and managing the process, and for the interviewer to be conscious of ‘empirical communication materials that need to be collected’. Permission was sought to use the data in the research and refer to the interview but it was agreed to preserve the respondent’s anonymity. Table 4.20 identifies the practicalities of the semi-structured interview, venue, convenient time and date, approximate duration of the interview (which for some, especially those in industry could be critical). Jennings (2005: p.101) depicts the semi-structured interview as conversation-like yielding ‘depthful and thick descriptions’. The commentary presented in section 4.9.2 identifies some of the key features of the meeting which were to influence the structure of the subsequent interviews.

#### **4.9.2 Commentary and observations**

The topic of food and tourism was introduced and June Smith (aged 80) talked in detail of her life in farming and her family background in West Devon. The youngest of eight children, June left school at the age of fourteen and helped on the farm. Each had a role to perform whether milking the cows or looking after the animals. Miller (2000: p. 20) asserts that ‘time and time-related issues are at the core of the biographical perspective’. These were emphasised during the interview with June Smith who was able to recall an exceptionally long family history as she was the youngest member of the family. An ability to recall events related by parents and grandparents in such cases provides potentially rich data. This is especially so in the case of families who have lived in the same area for that time, and are of particular relevance to longitudinal, and case studies. Miller cites Bertaux and Thompson (1993) who suggest that a family history ‘spanning only three generations can easily cover a century’. In terms of Devon such examples are invaluable as the timescale of the research is covered.

When discussing food the rural diet of the period – 1930s - it was described as ‘basic’ consisting of seasonal home-cooked produce, largely coming from the farm and garden. An

abundance of milk meant that clotted cream and butter were made and consumed by the family but were not sold commercially.

The term *visitor* was used in preference to *tourist* by the respondent. In response to a question concerning tourists June suggested there were none visiting the area in her youth, however she was familiar with the etymology of the era which frequently referred to holidaymakers and visitors rather than tourists. Having lived in the area all her life June Smith had much experience of incoming visitors. Hunting, shooting and fishing were recalled as attracting visitors who then stayed in the area in the 1920s and 30s. Access to the moor (Dartmoor) by rail and car encouraged walkers. An elder sister ran a filling station and café owned by June's father. Situated on the Princetown road, not far from the Manor House Hotel<sup>2</sup>, it provided a welcome stop for refuelling of car and passengers as teas were provided. These used milk and cream from the farm (and they even had to supply the water). This venture not only provided employment for one of the daughters but was an outlet for produce from the farms. It is an interesting early example of diversification in the 1920s. The café and filling station closed at the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.

June Smith was happy for the interview to be recorded and to be interviewed again. She also suggested further contacts who had been involved in farming and tourism. These included her sister, April, who also lived in the farmhouse and had provided 'Bed & Breakfast since the 1950s', and local farmer Tom Endacott.

Talking to June Smith emphasised the strong connections between food, farming, the county and tourism. The evolving dimension emerged through her detailed recall of aspects of her life and work history. For 30 years June had given talks about country life in Devon.

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<sup>2</sup> 'The Manor' was acquired by the Great Western Railway Company in 1929. It was developed as a luxury sporting hotel with golf, squash, and badminton facilities. According to a 1980s history the GWR bought it 'towards the end of the great railway era in the age of the motor car which gave access into the very heart of the countryside'.

The interview was important as it assisted in the planning and structure of the subsequent interviews and data collection emphasising;

- i the importance of oral histories in leading to other contacts and stimulating further recall. For example, Eileen Younghusband who demonstrated the significance of the life and work history in the context of food and tourism, and in referring to *Visitor's books* identified another archive resource which contained comments related to food and proving to be an elusive but invaluable secondary resource.
- ii the value of stimuli in the form of images, ephemera, postcards and physical artefacts such as a vintage clotted cream tin, or confectionery box, but the need for these to be of an appropriate size and clarity. See plate 1, a typical tourist postcard with Devonshire dialect dating from the 1920s. Postcard images provide period detail and depictions of food popular at a point in time.

Plate 1 Postcard – Devonshire Dumplings.(Devonshire food and dialect)



- iii the richness of memory, narrative and the spoken word and that these were interwoven in life and work histories.
- iv the importance of a plan and structure when conducting an interview, but one that is semi-structured and allows memories to surface freely. It was noted that by the end of the interview many strands related to tourism had emerged that later formed a detailed description of tourism as part of the rural economy of the inter-war period. Tourism emerged as an important economic activity, one that was symbiotic. In rural areas it was often part of food production. A semi or unstructured interview is flexible and allows the respondent to change the course of the conversation and identify new issues for the researcher to consider. Axinn and Pearce, 2006 refer to this approach as using 'less structured' interviews.
- v the significance of seemingly everyday and commonplace events (Towner, 1995) that are important in tourism.

- vi the ability for recall to stretch beyond the life of the interviewee, extending the scope of the interview. (Where families have lived in an area for several generations greater archival access is provided.)
- vii the importance of identifying an appropriate structure in the interview process. The semi-structured and informal interview encouraged dialogue between researcher and respondent.

Both the questionnaire and pilot interview revealed an interest in food in conjunction with tourism. However, the level of interest varied and it was through the qualitative aspects that tourists and providers discussed the impacts of food on their holiday experiences in Devon. It became evident that food was an evocative subject and would therefore provide apposite qualitative data. Schrieber (2008: p. 625) states that ‘pilot studies provide the opportunity to examine adjustments or alternatives’. He also concludes that the pilot study is essential in ‘selecting the questions and techniques that will provide the richest responses.’ The pilots are important too, in the identification of documents required for the archival dimension of the research. These included use of ephemera such as postcards from periods in the timescale, articles from the media – press and guide books.

#### **4.9.3 Interviews via the Open University**

The Open University was contacted as providing a potential source of respondents derived from current students, staff and alumni. A notice was circulated to the 17,000 staff via the intranet. This attracted the attention of 12 individuals who responded via email expressing interest in the topic and in some cases agreeing to be interviewed.

It was suggested by the Open University that a similar message be circulated to the 68,000 alumni via the ‘alumni e-newsletter’. A message and on-line questionnaire was included in

the newsletter of 4<sup>th</sup> August 2008. A short questionnaire (similar to that distributed to the Geologists), (See Appendix 5), was designed using *Qualtrics* software. This enables data to be collected automatically and presented using SPSS. Both quantitative and qualitative data was collected. However it was the qualitative responses to open text questions that provided some rich detail regarding the attraction of food, its quality, and food as a souvenir.

Within three days 150+ responses had been received. By late September 2008 the total reached 248. Early indications from both tools (the pilot interview and on-line questionnaire) confirmed an interest in food and tourism and a willingness to discuss holiday experiences and memories further. Follow-up interviews were arranged by telephone.

Following the pilot interviews the first formal recorded talk took place with Aviva Pearson, Director of tourism for Torbay. This was significant in that Aviva represented the industry in the context of a resort area including Torquay, Paignton and Brixham. It demonstrated the potential scope of the interview to introduce further contacts and relevant topics for consideration, (See Appendix 3).

The questions for the interviews were selected to address the research objectives and to encourage the respondents to talk about their experiences. The questions are found in Appendix 6. Table 4.21 shows that each objective is discussed during interviews with both tourists and those involved in the provision of food for tourists.

**Table 4.21 Objectives covered by demand and supply questions/oral histories**

<b>Objective/ Question</b>	<b>1 Food/tourism relationships</b>	<b>2 Devon in the 20<sup>th</sup> C</b>	<b>3 Provision of food</b>	<b>4 Trends &amp; patterns</b>
1	√	*		
2	*	√		
3	√ *			*
4	√	√		
5	√ *	*	√ *	√
6	√ *	√	√ *	
7		√	*	√ *
8		*	√	*
9	*	*	√	√ *
10		√ *	√	
11		*	√	√
12		√		√ *
13		√	√	√
14	√			√
15				√
√ = <b>Supply questions</b>	6	7	7	8
* = <b>Demand questions</b>	5	6	3	5

Source, author



Table 4.22 presents the major eras covered by the respondents during the interview process. From these it is apparent that oral histories from the first half of the twentieth century will be relatively scarce. The eras from the 1960s present a greater number of potential interviewees.

**Table 4.22 Eras covered by demand and supply interviewees**

Demand	Supply	Era>1914	Era>1939	Era>1969	Era>1989	Era>2000+
<b>Rosalie</b>	<b>June (pilot)</b>		*	*	* *	*
<b>Daphne</b>	<b>Andy</b>		*	* *	* *	*
<b>Diana-Mary</b>	<b>Marie</b>		*	* *	* *	*
<b>Talbot</b>	<b>Shaun</b>		*	*	*	*
<b>Pauline</b>	<b>Gillian</b>			*	* *	*
<b>Jan</b>	<b>Robin</b>				*	* *
<b>Charlotte</b>	<b>Laura</b>				*	*
<b>Richard</b>	<b>Aviva</b>			*		*
<b>Sheena</b>	<b>Tony</b>	*	*	* *	*	* *
<b>Penny</b>	<b>Tom</b>			* *	*	*
<b>Caroline</b>	<b>Sara</b>		*	* *	*	*
<b>Margaret</b>	<b>Ruth</b>			*	*	*
<b>Joan</b>	<b>Eileen</b>		*	*		
	<b>John</b>		*	*	*	*
	<b>Elise</b>				*	*
	<b>Diana</b>	*	*			
	<b>Rosemary</b>				*	*
	<b>Frank</b>				*	*
	<b>Julien</b>				*	*
	<b>Sarah</b>					*
	<b>Gloria</b>				*	

Source, author

#### **4.10 The sampling framework**

A major consideration in selecting the sample was to reach (in terms of memory and experience) as much of the timescale as possible. Although the demographics appear to present a mature sample it does extend to over eighty-five years of the timescale representing much of the twentieth century evolution of tourism. A benefit of the convenience sample was that collectively (both demand and supply samples) most of the twentieth century had been experienced as a tourist or producer of food for tourists. The sample is one that demonstrates associations with tourism in Devon, and its food. These are wide-ranging, from childhood seaside holidays and short breaks to food tourism and the *Michelin Star* dining experience.

The first era of the bell époque (>1914) although beyond recall, was recalled using anecdotal evidence. Trapp-Fallon and Boughey (2007: p.120) state that the identification and sampling of a population is important but an additional consideration is the possibility of opportunistic encounters. This is supported by Veal (2006: p.295) in the description of a variety of qualitative sampling methods including the convenience sample. This makes use of ‘conveniently located persons or organisations, e.g. friends, colleagues, students, organisations in the neighbourhood and tourists visiting a destination’. The convenience sample used in this thesis is presented in tables 4.21 and 4.22. These indicate their demographic characteristics (age and gender), and relationship to tourism in Devon. The majority of interviewees (approximately 80%) were over 50, with 20% under 40, gender, eleven female, two male, when they had stayed in Devon as a tourist and the characteristics of their interviews for example location, type of accommodation or holiday activity. Table 4.23 shows some of the characteristics of those who had worked in tourism or have some connection with the industry. Table 4.24 displays particular features of the tourists and their holiday experiences.

**Table 4.23 Sampling framework Oral histories – supply, the producers**

Name	Gender	Age	Era*	Characteristic of interviewee
1 Frank	M	<b>63</b>	<b>1930-2009</b>	Family business
2 Ruth	F	<b>50</b>	<b>2000+</b>	Hotelier
3 Elise	F	<b>45</b>	<b>1990-2009</b>	Cheese maker
4 Aviva	F	<b>35</b>	<b>2008-2009</b>	Director, tourism
5 Tony	M	<b>70</b>	<b>1930-2009</b>	Farmer, broadcaster
6 Robin	M	<b>60</b>	<b>2000-2009</b>	Farm holidays/accommodation
7 Marie	F	<b>54</b>	<b>1975-2009</b>	Purchasing director
8 Gloria	F	<b>57</b>	<b>1982/4</b>	Baker/tourist
9 Gillian	F	<b>40</b>	<b>1990-2009</b>	Administrator
10 Laura	F	<b>25</b>	<b>2005-2009</b>	Cheese and wine producer
11 Sara	F	<b>60</b>	<b>1975-2009</b>	Writer, cook & food historian
12 Andy	M	<b>50</b>	<b>1980-2009</b>	Hotelier
13 Julien	M	<b>41</b>	<b>1995-2010</b>	Hotel manager
14 Eileen	F	<b>88</b>	<b>1948-1953</b>	Hotelier
15 John	M	<b>53</b>	<b>1940-1970</b>	Farm holidays
16 Shaun	M	<b>60</b>	<b>1975-2010</b>	Chef, writer
17 Tom	M	<b>60</b>	<b>1965-2009</b>	Food writer, restaurateur
18 Diana	F	<b>95</b>	<b>1928-1932</b>	Family business
19 Rosemary	F	<b>55</b>	<b>1970-2009</b>	Food writer
20 Sarah	F	<b>35</b>	<b>1998-2009</b>	Farm and Pub

Source, author \*Principal eras covered in the interviews

**Table 4.24 Sampling framework Oral histories – demand, tourists**

Name	Gender	Age	Era*	Characteristic of interviewee
1 Rosalie	F	<b>76</b>	<b>1970s</b>	Tourist, now resident
2 Daphne	F	<b>92</b>	<b>1920s</b>	“ “ “ Farm
3 Diana-Mary	F	<b>84</b>	<b>1920s/30s</b>	“ “ “ Caravan
4 Talbot	M	<b>92</b>	<b>1920s</b>	“ “ “ Resort
5 Pauline	F	<b>80</b>	<b>1970s/80s</b>	“ “ “ Fishing
6 Jan	F	<b>50</b>	<b>1980s/90s</b>	Tourist
7 Charlotte	F	<b>55</b>	<b>1990s</b>	Diving instructor, tourist
8 Richard	M	<b>70</b>	<b>1950s</b>	Tourist - touring
9 Sheena	F	<b>50</b>	<b>1960s/70s</b> <b>2008</b>	Tourist, nostalgia, memories
10 Penny	F	<b>55</b>	<b>1960s</b>	Tourist, farm holidays
11 Caroline	F	<b>55</b>	<b>1950s/80s</b>	Self-catering
12 Margaret	F	<b>55</b>	<b>1950s/60s</b>	Caravan holiday
13 Joan	F	<b>82</b>	<b>1930s</b>	Exmouth, small hotel

Source, author \* Principal eras covered during the interviews

Tables 4.25 and 4.26 show details of the ensuing interviews.

**Table 4.25 Timetable Supply – producers respondents’**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Duration</b>	<b>Commentary</b>
1 Frank	20.01.09	2hr 40 minutes	Family business
2 Ruth	22.09.08	1hr 30 minutes	Hotelier
3 Elise	20.09.08	1hr	Cheese maker
4 Aviva	18.07.08	1hr	Director tourism
5 Tony	08.08.08	2hr 40 minutes	Farmer/broadcaster
6 Jeffery	26.07.08	1hr 40 minutes	Festival director
7 Marie	00.12.08	1hr	Purchasing/director
8 Gloria	21.11.08	35 minutes	Baker/tourist
9 Gillian	06.10.08	20 minutes	Administrator
10 Andy	23.10.08	2hrs	Hotelier
11 Laura	10.10.08	30 minutes	Cheese and wine maker
12 Sara	03.12.08	45 minutes	Writer, cook and Food historian
13 Julien	16.02.09	2hrs 45 minutes	Hotel manager
14 Shaun	15.07.09	1hr	Chef, writer
15 Eileen	23.08.08	1hr 10 minutes	Hotelier
16 John	06.07.09	2hr 30 minutes	Farm holidays
17 Tom	17.03.09	2hr 35 minutes	Food writer Restaurateur
18 Diana	12.04.10	2hr 25 minutes	Family business
19 Rosemary	31.05.09	1hr	Food writer

20 Sarah		2hr 30 minutes	Publican/chef/farm
Respondents N= 20		Total interview time 28hrs. 25 minutes	

Source, author

#### **Timetable 4.26 Demand - tourist respondents' interviews**

Name	Date	Duration	Commentary
1 Rosalie	15.11.08	3hrs	Torquay/Appledore
2 Daphne	02.10.08	2hrs	Farm holidays
3 Diana-Mary	02.10.08	2hrs	Caravan tour
4 Talbot	12.10.08	1hr	Dawlish
5 Pauline	30.08.08	30 minutes	Sporting breaks
6 Jan	18.08.08	32 minutes	Diving breaks
7 Jan Nanton	17.08.08	1hr	Exmouth
8 Richard	10.08.08	1hr	Childhood
9 Sheena	08.09.08	30 minutes	Childhood memories
10 Penny	22.07.08	35 minutes	Child's memories
11 Caroline	23.07.08	30 minutes	Self-catering
12 Margaret	25.07.08	1hr	Exmouth
13 Joan	10.07.09	2hr 30 minutes	Exmouth
<b>Respondents N=13</b>		<b>Total interview time 16 hrs 07 minutes</b>	

Source, author

#### **4.10.1 The Questionnaires**

These were distributed as a pilot study in June 2008 and then through the Open University staff intranet and student e-newsletter. The questionnaires were designed to encourage respondents to provide details of the food they had associated with Devon and their holidays in the county. Although some quantitative data was obtained this was largely restricted to questions regarding the frequency and duration of holidays spent in the county. Demographic data (age, gender and occupation) was also collected which was important in identifying evolving trends in consumption.

#### **4.10.2 The significance of the questionnaires**

Two important dimensions of the questionnaires were the open text questions and the invitation to take part in the personal interview process. These provided interviewees with the opportunity to share their recollections in greater detail and were demonstrated in the comprehensive responses to the open text questions and in the number of interviews generated.

#### **4.10.3 The open text responses**

The second part of the pilot study utilised the questionnaire. 75 questionnaires (see appendix) were distributed at the Ussher Society Geologists Conference held in Crediton in May 2008. The text responses revealed an interest in food, tourism and Devon and indicated that there were relationships between them to be explored including folklore associated with food and the interest in local produce. Of the 110 delegates present 37 completed the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was divided into three sections, *About your time in Devon*, *About your food* and *About you* to ascertain demographic details of age, gender and occupation.

*About your time in Devon* revealed that the majority of respondents now lived in Devon and that the remainder were mostly from the South East. It was apparent that Devon was regarded as a holiday destination with an average length of stay noted as 5 days or longer. The decades in which people had stayed in Devon excluded the 1930s, with 1 staying in the 1940s, 13 in the 1950s, 11 in the 60s and 70s, 13 in the 80s and 90s and 11 in the 2000s; the number of responses revealed that many respondents had stayed in the county in more than one decade.

The scarcity of those having visited Devon prior to the 1940s is apparent and it was noted that to find respondents with memories of the first half of the twentieth century might be challenging. As most of the delegates were of the baby boomer generation (45 -60+) this is reflected in the numbers visiting Devon in the eras when they would have been children and holidayed with their parents. They often then returned to Devon with their children which may account for the distribution in the 80s and 90s. Hotels and staying with friends and relatives were identified as the most widely used forms of accommodation.

*About food* revealed that most respondents ate in cafes and restaurants and a wide range of supplementary outlets were specified including pubs, farm shops and shops. 11 respondents agreed that food had attracted them to the county and 12 answered no, although food had played some part in their holiday. As an-open ended question comments were invited. These suggested that for some although food added value to the holiday experience it was not a major motivation. Comments such as:

“I eat to live, family holiday dictated by interests, not influenced by food, (food) has a reputation for being wholesome and also rich, and, (food) secondary to the main purpose-holiday”



indicate a variance in the level of interest in food but that it is often considered secondary to the purpose of visit. The attraction of food festivals and markets was described as a *modern phenomenon* with 8 respondents having visited farm shops and 6 farmers' markets including Barnstaple pannier market.

The local foods tried whilst on holiday showed the popularity of clotted cream and cream teas followed by pasties, fish and cider. Local beer, ice cream, vegetables, fruit, strawberries and locally grown vegetables and tomatoes were listed as other items tried whilst on holiday. It appeared that less than 50% of respondents had taken home food as a souvenir. However, those that had done so listed a wide range of food products, from or associated with the county. These included clotted cream, honey, cheese, jam, mead, pasties, dough cake, cider, fudge, tea and vegetables (though it is not clear whether these are all souvenir gifts for others or include souvenirs for personal consumption). It is important to note that the quality of food was regarded as good/excellent by 27 respondents with 2 rating it as satisfactory.

Although the survey provided much valuable data it emphasised the relevance of qualitative data collection for this topic. Food, tourism, holidays and Devon proved to be an emotive subject for some respondents, reviving many holiday memories. Whereas quantitative data enables the researcher to measure and enumerate, it is the richness and depth of narrative, emotion and memory that explore the phenomenon of tourism. The willingness of respondents to talk about and share their experiences affirmed the choice of the personal interview as an appropriate means of data collection.

#### **4.10.4 The on-line version questionnaire**

Following the pilot study the questionnaire was amended slightly, providing respondents with the opportunity to volunteer for interview. This was distributed on-line by the Open University from July to September 2008. It was sent to staff via the OU intranet and subsequently to students in the e-newsletter. (See Appendix 5) The questionnaire was designed and distributed using Qualtrics software and resulted in the completion of 248 questionnaires.

As the aims of the questionnaire were to establish the interest and potential relationship between food and tourism and to invite respondents to be interviewed it was relatively concise and constructed to be clear and quick to complete. It comprised 12 questions (linked to the research objectives), six of which were open text, three multi-choice, two closed, and one Likert scale and an invitation to take part in an interview. (9 respondents volunteered for interview.)

The open-ended questions and Likert scale questions were included in order to learn more about the evolving attraction of food and tourism, food as a souvenir and memento, and the interest in food festivals and events. The use of open text questions, for example asking if food was taken home as a souvenir, or was a motivation to visit Devon, encouraged respondents to provide greater personal detail and anecdotal evidence.

Other data collected included the duration of holiday, the eras in which respondents had visited Devon and demographic detail pertaining to age, gender and occupation.

#### **4.11 Data analysis**

As the data collection is derived from a mixed method approach it does not focus on one analysis method but is influenced by several: content, discourse and textual. It might be possible to consider using other methods, for example a phenomenology heuristic analysis to investigate the meanings to an individual of their experience in the world, Moustakas (1990). However, the basis for this research is content analysis which is used to look at texts, documents or speech to see what themes emerge. McTavish and Pirro (1990: pp.245-246) suggest that words are a 'basic form of data for much social science research because they are the usual medium for social exchange'. Insight into their meanings can be obtained through the examination of contextual information contained in the text, in this thesis food and tourism. Qualitative content analysis extends beyond counting and classifying words, it provides the ability to provide categories for data based on words and images, (Weber, 1994: p.257). The aim of content analysis is to 'provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study', (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992: p. 314, Krippendorff 1980: p.7) described content analysis as 'one of the most important techniques in the social sciences' as

it seeks to understand data not as a collection of physical events but as symbolic phenomena. It is important to note from Krippendorff's definition that 'content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context'. It is a tool and its purpose is to provide knowledge, new insights, and a representation of facts (Ibid, 1980: p. 21). Krippendorff (1980, 2004) identifies the major components of content analysis as data making, including unitization, sampling and recording, data reduction and finally analysis, hypothesis testing and validation. The role of the researcher-content analyst is emphasised as the starting point of their analyses whether texts, printed matter, recorded speech, artefacts and ephemera are meaningful to others not just the analysts. The recognition of meanings is suggested as the reason why researchers engage in content analysis, (Krippendorff, 2004: pp.21-22).

The research conducted for this thesis has used a wide variety of textual materials (including brochures, guidebooks, postcards and advertising data spanning the timescale) conjointly, with over 50 hours of interview data. In some instances the interviews used additional materials for example travel ephemera, advertising materials and biographical stories.

Thus a wide range of tourism-related signs, symbols, and semiotics featured in addition to those derived from archival resources. Subsequently Jamal and Hollinshead (2001; pp. 64-65) suggest that the researcher is able to select from a 'rich array of methods, tools and practices' in order to address 'research questions and assumptions' including analysis. The data collected during the interviews and archival research also presented opportunities for hermeneutical analysis - making sense of a written text. This is important in research which investigates the evolution of relationships over the period of a century. Hermeneutics are considered an important qualitative research methodology aimed at producing rich textual descriptions. For example the language and terminology of some textual materials evoked memories of an era during the semi-structured interviews. The narrative of a touring holiday, Cattell's *Under Sail through Red Devon* (1937) evoked the language of an era for one respondent alive at the time as 'just how they spoke then'.

Manual analysis was considered appropriate and traditional as interpretation remains with the researcher (software such as Nvivo could be utilised). Manual analysis is based on reading the notes, transcriptions and documents returning to the original research questions and hypothesis, (Veal 2006: p.210). Textual analysis was also utilised as many of the materials, notably guidebooks and brochures contained advertising messages and cultural products such as film and television and postcards. Content analysis is regarded as a flexible method for analysing qualitative text data, (Hsieh and Shannon 2005: p.1277, Hankinson, 2004: p.9). Research using qualitative content analysis focuses on the characteristics of language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text. Qualitative content analysis is defined as the subjective interpretation of the content of text data, through a process of coding and identifying themes or patterns, (Hsieh and Shanon 2005: p. 1278).

The investigation of the evolving relationship between food and tourism provides the researcher with numerous opportunities for the use of content analysis as a combination of data sources are utilised in the context of individual experiences.

#### **4.12 Conclusions**

The selection and justification of methodology apposite to the research has identified a requirement for data that is temporal, historical, topical and qualitative and is shown in tables 4.2 and 4.8. The data has three dimensions, the tourist as a consumer, producers of food for tourists, and the timescale of a century. The case study background of the research is determined by a specific location and activity, Devon and tourism.

The chapter has shown that a mixed method approach may combine a diverse range of information, from in-depth interviews to archival resources and tourism ephemera. It comprises a form of mixed methodology, based on qualitative research ‘something of an enigma and the topic of debate as to what it actually is’, (Goodson and Philimore 2004: p.4).

It is suggested that it is concerned with the collection of data ‘about activities, events, occurrences and behaviour’, and, within the context of this thesis, over the timescale of a century. Qualitative research, working with words and memories, is crucial to the data collection process as it is the evolution of relationships that are the focus of the study. This is sometimes stimulated and supported by the use of other materials, in the example of food and tourism items from the personal and public domains, diaries, postcards, and mementoes. Therefore the methodology requires a combination of resource materials.

The historical context of the study aims to demonstrate how relationships between food and tourism have evolved through a century and utilises substantial archival resources. Through the period of the timescale guidebooks, postcards and tourism ephemera have provided an invaluable twentieth century reserve. As illustrated in table 4.15 the collection of archival data continued throughout the three years of the data collection process.

The semi-structured in-depth interview was identified as an appropriate technique from which to gather personal stories of the evolving experience of holidays and the role of food in tourism. Interviews with industry and tourists provide the researcher with much period detail, socio-cultural, concerns over health, identification of trends and patterns.

This chapter has identified the methodology appropriate for a longitudinal and qualitative study, one that combines historical data and in-depth interviews in the context of Devon.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Archival research, the provision of food for tourists**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The aims of the chapter are firstly to investigate ways in which the provision of food has evolved through the timescale of the research and secondly to identify factors that have influenced changes in food consumption by tourists. Moreover this chapter will introduce the context of food in conjunction with tourism thus presenting the development of a relationship between two industries through the twentieth century.

This chapter presents details and findings derived from the archival elements of the data collected regarding the provision of food for tourists. This will be expounded within the parameters of the timescale of the research, and in the geographical context of a major tourist region. The longitudinal dimensions of the research are presented in the context of food that is food provided for tourists, or the consumption of food by tourists. Therefore the domain of provision is focused on leisure. This is an important distinction as although other significant food trends may be considered such as diet, health and food production, it is the foods presented to, and consumed by, tourists that are specific to this research.

The aims of the chapter are derived from the four research objectives which are based on the investigation of a longitudinal and evolving relationship between food and tourism. These are firstly to provide an overview of the development and evolution of tourism in Devon through the twentieth century and secondly to identify the provision of food for tourists visiting the county through the timescale, thus providing detail of past and current provision. The third objective aims to explain trends and patterns in the provision of foods for tourists in Devon; this leads to the final objective which seeks to investigate and establish the relationships between food and tourism in Devon.

Thus the three objectives of this chapter focus on the past and current tendencies in the provision of food and its consumption by tourists during or outside the tourism experience. These include the emergence of food tourism and a so-called *foodie culture*, a culinary *celebrification*, and the significance of health, economic, ethical and political issues pertinent to food and tourism. The first objective is to discuss and examine the characteristics of the evolving relationship that is suggested to be present between food and tourism. Objective two aims to distinguish significant events and relevant points in time in the eras of the research in the context of the relationship between food and tourism. The intention of the third objective is to provide some explanations of the provision of food for tourists' consumption through the timescale of the research.

An overarching aspiration of the chapter is to offer an explanation of the evolving significance of food in the experience of tourism. In addition, the chapter aims to show how, when and where changes have occurred in the provision of food for tourists.

### **5.1.1 The structure of the chapter**

The chapter is structured to demonstrate ways in which archival research and a diverse range of materials can be used to meet the research objectives stated in section 5.2. As the evolving relationship between food and tourism is at the core of the investigation they are described in the framework of the twentieth century timescale of the research. This is supported by a contextual discussion of the significance of diet and food consumption in relation to tourism. The extensive archival data resources are identified in table 5.1 which matches them to the research and chapter objectives. A wide range of data provided much information for analysis. Archival resources proved to be a unique store of data, extending through the research eras.

**Table 5.1 Archival resources and the research objectives**

#### **√ Archival resources and the chapter objectives**

Objective/Archival resource	Research Objective 1	Research Objective 2	Research Objective 3	Research Objective 4
Exeter Guide - Accommodation list	√	√	√	

Devon Guide	√ √	√	√	
Travel Guide, Rail/AA	√ √	√		
Resort Guide	√ √	√	√	√
News Media		√	√	
Radio/TV				
Trade press				√
Tourist Boards <i>Tourist Information</i>			√ √	√
Outlets, cafes, hotels restaurants	√	√	√ √	
Postcards/ephemera/ souvenirs/photographs	√ √	√	√ √	

Source: author

## **5.2 The background to food and tourism in the context of the timescale of the research**

Food, and the significance of food consumed in the context of tourism, is central to the research. The research aims of the chapter include changes in food consumption and the evolution of tourism through a twentieth century timescale. Therefore, in addition to an understanding of the consumption of leisure, an appreciation of diet and the prevailing food trends in the context of the timescale is also necessary. Although the research uses the United Kingdom as its broad geographical focus it is apparent that food trends and patterns of



consumption cannot be entirely studied in isolation. Given that tourism involves travel many foods and consumption trends also travel, changing and evolving over time. As levels of affluence increase (or in times of economic hardship decrease) consumers make choices which will affect their leisure time activities. These include the type and duration of holiday, and the food consumed. Douglas and Isherwood (1980: p. 115) describe consumption periodicities using food which is stated to offer the opportunity for ‘finer discrimination’, as the choice and consumption of food is suggested as being able to discriminate not only social class but may include life cycle events (such as weddings and funerals), to which could be added holidays. From Veblen’s propositions of the early twentieth century regarding conspicuous consumption and leisure it is apparent that holidays and leisure, and subsequently tourism, would attract the interest of a wide range of researchers, Trigg (2001: pp. 100 – 101). Burke (1995: pp.148-50) identifies the emergence of leisure time describing the nineteenth century movement for ‘rational recreation’ where the ‘middle classes encouraged the working classes to visit parks and the seaside’ distracting them from bear-baiting and drinking. Such descriptions are important in a longitudinal study and in the development of the understanding of leisure and tourism consumption as they show how leisure and consumption patterns gradually emerge, and are consequently reflected in the archival data.

### **5.3 The significance of diet and health**

The significance of the English diet in history is documented by numerous historians, but not in relation to tourism. However, scientist and government advisor Sir Jack Drummond (1957: p. 403) describes the close of Queen Victoria’s reign in 1901 as marking the end of an epoch, but contrasts the consolidation of a great empire and national wealth with the high level of malnutrition that was prevalent in the United Kingdom. It too marked the beginning of the relatively short but evocative Edwardian period prior to the First World War often referred to as the *belle époque*. Knowledge regarding diet was increasing, but ‘little was known about the influence of diet on health’.

It is interesting to note that at the beginning of the twentieth century there was a scientific and aesthetic interest in aspects of diet and health. This was apparent in the work of organisations such as the Vegetarian Society and The Order of the Golden Age, a society based in Devon, at Paignton, that promoted the ideals and physical benefits of a *fruitarian diet* (which excluded meat) as being healthy and humane. Oldfield (1906: p.9) refers to the diet of peasants and labourers suggesting that their frugal fare was a healthy dietary model. The health foods recommended in the booklet were available from Deller's Supply Stores in Paignton (who later established Deller's cafes). The food, and the diet consumed by the farmers and cottagers, interested many tourists and visitors to the county. It was a form of hospitality often experienced when visiting the countryside. Walton (2000: p. 95) describes food as a holiday pleasure and expressing otherness and the consumption of something unusual. In the context of the rural and rustic, pleasure and consumption for some tourists provided a glimpse of another culture and lifestyle.

Similarly, although holidays were familiar their influences had not really begun to attract the attention of sociologists or politicians, Pimlott (1976: p. 211). Pimlott also suggests that in 1900 the annual holiday was still largely regarded as a luxury to be enjoyed by the privileged, although annual holidays were spreading amongst the middle classes and the major seaside resorts were established. At the time of the era later referred to as the *belle époque*, it is interesting to note that the rich and privileged often travelled to the flourishing continental spas and resorts in order to alleviate health problems caused in part by excessive consumption. This was in marked contrast to the effects of malnutrition suffered by sectors of the working classes owing to a lack of food, and often, access to fresh air and sunlight. Boyd Orr (1943: p.7) emphasises the advances in nutritional knowledge of the early twentieth century as revolutionary, linking food and diet to disease and health. These interests are evident in many of the physical activities depicted in the text and advertisements of brochures and guidebooks of the period. The *British Health Resorts Handbook* (1938) describes the healthy advantages of resorts in the United Kingdom and 'colonies'. Its text suggest that 'Torquay is one of the best-known and most beautifully situated marine resorts' (p.136), and Lynton and Lynmouth are described as 'twin villages and are a favourite place of resort in the rugged but luxuriant scenery of North Devon' (p.99).

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century there are important links between food, health, holidays, leisure and tourism to be considered. Fresh air, sunshine, exercise in the form of swimming, hiking and rambling, and good food were considered to be among the benefits of a holiday. The wholesome appeal of the food shown on postcards, descriptions in guidebooks and advertisements for food produced in Devon (*Ambrosia* canned dairy products still uses images of the Devon countryside in its packaging with the strap line *Ambrosia proudly made in Devon for over 90 years*) support these prevailing interests linking good food with tourism.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Stevenson (1984: p. 125) indicates some of the changes in living standards as including an increase in spending on food. The influence of branded goods from America, and changes in retailing, increased the range of foodstuffs available. In spite of the widespread economic recession, and great hardship for many, Stevenson notes that there was also an increase in spending on leisure and holidays by the sectors of the working classes who 'could obtain regular employment'. During the period up to World War Two, and prior to the social reforms of the 1942 Beveridge Report, Hilton (1944: pp.115 -116) reports that between 1924 and 1938 there was an increase of 12% in the real wages of workpeople. However, he concludes that the working, and lower middle classes, the focus of his study, instead of saving for health insurance and security, had spent much of the increase in spending power. This included a wide range of 'un-essentials', consumer goods, leisure and 'better feeding and holidaying'. It is necessary for the purposes of the research to consider how Stevenson's (1984) social history perspective, and Hilton's (1944) contemporary critique, identify pertinent factors affecting the consumption of leisure and holidays. These would continue their evolution through the twentieth century.

By the late twentieth century Tannahill (1973: pp. 315-316) links some of the changes in food taste and eating habits of the early 1970s to the influence of travel and tourism. Tannahill argues that the availability of 'foreign and exotic foods' (such as garlic, olive oil, curry powder, continental sausages and pizzas) was due, in part, to the impact of 'foreign travel'. This, and the influence of the communications media, food experts and demographics of the young 'whose ethos includes the need to experiment', reflect some of the era's culinary changes. At this time concerns were being raised regarding the safety of intensive food production systems and the use of chemicals and pesticides. Therefore an era of better

informed and discerning consumers was emerging. The interest in food, not only its consumption but its production, and the wider ethical and social issues would continue to develop through the century.

Choices regarding food are increasingly complex, and must be carefully considered when made in the context of tourism. Hupkens, Knibbe and Drop (1999: pp. 111-112) indicate that there may be explanations for social class difference in the choice of food; these it is suggested can include factors such as health and the status of food. Shaw and Williams (2002: p.21) indicate the desire of many tourists for ‘new and more satisfying self-images’ which include food. From the early twentieth century brochures and tourist guides, the status of food is referred to by the use of vacuous terms such as *high class cuisine*, *own chef*, *separate tables* and *first class cuisine*; by the end of the century status is conferred by accolades, awards and symbols whether Michelin Stars or AA rosettes.

Holidays are about leisure and change in routine from the everyday and the mundane, and eating whilst on holiday is also part of this variation. Whereas expectations of the holiday may include better weather, facilities and amenities food must not be ignored or regarded as implicit.

#### **5.4 Researching the evolving relationship between food and tourism**

Three major sources of data identified in the early stages of the research were questionnaires, archival resources and qualitative interviews. As the research aims to show how the

relationship between food and tourism has evolved through the timescale of a century, relying on one source of data only would have excluded much valuable material. Subsequently the archival sources utilised proved to be a rich and complementary reserve.

#### **5.4.1 Archival resources**

The archive for tourism and hospitality is disparate and extensive, but as the research has an important longitudinal element, is vital. A twentieth century timescale affords the researcher the opportunity to draw on a variety of archives from the news media to photographs and the everyday ephemera of popular culture. Ephemera and marginalia (the written, printed and visual materials not intended to be retained or preserved) when available often present an additional perspective on an era or holiday experience. Articles such as tickets, bills, menus, brochures and luggage labels, the personal minutiae of the holiday experience, individually or collectively enable the researcher to build a richer and more detailed record of a particular holiday, and era.

The commercial menu provides important details of the types of food available, not only at a particular time but also of the prevailing food trends. For example, menus from the Royal Clarence Hotel in Exeter in the late 1960s indicate a time of culinary change, offering consumers a mixture of standard hotel dishes using English and traditional French menu terminology. The Table d'hôte dinner menu for 12<sup>th</sup> November 1969 includes consommé, (a clear beef soup) and goujons (strips) of fried plaice but only one reference to local produce, Devon chicken. In contrast, the menus from the same hotel forty years later show how the language of the menu, diners' tastes and expectations have been transformed in the context of the trend for so-called *fine dining*. Descriptions such as *free range Devon duckling with braised button mushrooms, caramelised gnocchi, spring green cabbage and a light smoked jus* now reflect the inspiration of their chef and originator. Contemporary menu terminology affords greater emphasis and status on the use, and provenance of local produce.

Within the timescale of the research one establishment can provide much detail, and an insight into culinary trends and fashions. The example of the Royal Clarence illustrates the gastronomic transition and evolution of commercial hospitality. From the c.1912 brochure descriptions of simple *mutton chop* luncheons and *7 o'clock dinners* of soup, fish, joint and cheese to the contemporary *innovative and award-winning cuisine style* of chef Michael Caines the vogue for eating out may be traced through its attendant literature.

Archive and ephemeral materials devoted to tourism tend to be dispersed and located within compilations and libraries such as Cornell University's HEARTH (Home Economics Archive Research Tradition History) collection which covers 150 years of domestic history and its literature. However, as a specific location, Devon is used as a case study, subsequently much of the material used was located in appropriate record offices and museums (some on-line), or came from private collections. These included the West Country Studies Library, The Devon Records Office, Exeter City Library, the Devon and Exeter Institution and the Beaford Archive.

The Beaford Archive is unique in that it holds an important collection of photographs taken in North Devon by James Ravilious and colleagues from 1972 to 1989. This is supported by further historic images dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Together these form a record of the everyday life and scenes of a rural community that has changed dramatically since the photographs were taken.

The work of James Ravilious (See Appendix 9) and Chris Chapman in recording Devon's rural life in late twentieth century is valuable in terms of tourism as everyday life, and events were recorded in a form of visual (as opposed to oral) history. Food and rural traditions feature prominently showing the detail of small-scale production, whether netting for salmon, gathering laver bread, cider-making and tea tables laden with home-made produce. The work of Ravilious (1980, foreword) is described as forming an unforgettable sequence of images of a 'lingering past and the present', and that the recent past has a 'way of dropping just below the horizon of general recollection' and becoming a series of disconnected fragments. The achievements of photographers and writers such as James and Robin Ravilious are important

in recording the social and living history of a region and in the case of Devon one inseparable from its rural tourism.

Visually recording daily life and routine can be traced to the period at the beginning of the twentieth century when the work of local photographers such as Chapman (Dawlish) was reproduced as postcards including the Dartmoor farmhouse, local beauty spots and attractions. Their work is important as it forms a record of the development of tourism and leisure in the county. Towards the end of the century the documentary work of Chris Chapman and James Ravilious is used for many of the illustrations found in *Traditional Foods of Britain* (1999). A national directory of regional produce and specialities, it depicts late twentieth century rural life including food produced in Devon.

The use of archive materials significantly enhances the data collection process. It can provide access not only to the personal records of individuals, but also to organisations, businesses and resorts. Importantly for tourism both place and people (associated by tourism) may be researched. National and regional archives present opportunities to research broadly, looking at tourism from within the scope of the case study and externally. Gilliland and McKemmish (2004: pp. 152-153) endorse the use of archival research stating that the potential range of archival research engagement is ‘truly extensive’ as it affords the opportunity for building, evaluating and reflecting.

Table 5.1, page 148, shows the range of local and national archival resources used in the data collection process. These are presented showing the extent to which the eras of the timescale are covered by the resources. It is important to note that the eras of the timescale are covered by the resources selected but that some allow somewhat restricted access.

A further sub-classification can be identified which consolidates a number of the resources as shown in table 5.2.

### **Table 5.2 Archival resources**

1 Guidebooks and directories, local and national
2 News media, News media archive, Financial Times and Times On-line
3 Postcards
4 Industry-specific brochures and menus
5 Mass Observation

Source, author

The guidebook, postcard and directory provided extensive visual and textual coverage of the timescale. However, on-line resources provided through Mass Observation and the news media, the Pro Quest range of journals, Financial Times and The Times on- line (available up to 1985) were also used to gather data pertaining to the timescale.

**Table 5.3 Era/Potential Archive resources**

Archive	Era					
	1900 >	> 1939	>	>	>	



	1914		1969	1989	2000+	Comment
<b>Exeter City Guide</b>	√	√	√	√	√	Heritage, city & environs
<b>Devon Guide<sup>3</sup></b>	√	√	√	√	√	County
<b>Travel Guide</b>	√	√				Travel
<b>Rail &gt; 1969</b>						Food & accommodation
<b>AA/RAC</b>		√	√			
<b>Michelin</b>	√					
<b>News media &gt;</b>	√	√	√	√	√	Editorial
<b>Western Times</b>						News
<b>Western Morning News</b>						Features
<b>Express &amp; Echo</b>						Advertisements
<b>Kelly's Directory</b>	√	√	√	√		Trade e.g.
<b>Besley's “</b>						Hotels, cafes
						Restaurants, food ‘producers’
<b>Radio/TV</b>					√	Visual
<b>Caterer and hotel-keeper<sup>4</sup></b>			√	√	√	Trade
<b>Tourist ‘board’</b>			√	√	SW	From 1969
<b>Visit Britain</b>					Tourism	Reports
					√	Quantitative
<b>Hotel/restaurant</b>	√	√	√	√	√	Ephemeral
<b>Brochure/menu</b>						Food fashions and trends
<b>‘Industry’</b>						
<b>Postcards</b>	√	√	√	√	√	Visual +or text

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<sup>3</sup> County and regional guides

<sup>4</sup> Commercial/trade publication

<b>The Times and Financial Times</b>	√	√	√	√		Editorial, news advertisements
<b>Pro quest journals</b>	√					Features
<b>Mass Observation</b>		√	√			Diaries and reports

Source, author

### **5.5 Purpose of archival resources and research**

The research has a timescale as shown in table 5.3, a span of a century. The main method of data collection is through oral histories. Conversely, to enrich, verify and expand on these, archive data is used. This provides secondary details of tourism throughout the timescale. It can be derived from commercial or domestic sources and ranges from the tourists' correspondence to their comments in a guest book.

Tourism data is recorded formally and this ostensibly is quantitative as with South West tourism reports and statistics. Although these quantify many aspects of the tourism experience it is the features and detail of personal experience emerging from the qualitative data collection that is the focus of this chapter. The potential resources were evaluated prior to their collection and observed thus,

**5.5.1 Exeter Guide** – produced annually by the City Council. These date from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and contain much information intended for use by visitors to the city and its environs. Excluding some of the First and Second World War periods coverage of the timescale is virtually inclusive. Therefore a continuous record of tourism promotion and trends in consumption can be followed.

**5.5.2 Devon Guides** – produced by various independent publishers including the Come to Devon Guides and the South Devon Resort Guide (Torquay 1949) which are a form of hybrid directory-gazetteer. These can be linked to other City and County publications such as

Besley's and Kelly's directories in that they are tourism industry specific, and represent the commercial interests of a location.

**5.5.3 Travel Guides** – these national and international publications date from the early Baedeker Guides of the nineteenth century. The rail guides produced by the regional companies contain much descriptive text such as that in the Great Western Railway Holiday Haunts 1939. Fraser (1939: p. 333) provides a description of Devon as unique stating that, “No one could possibly mistake Devon for any other county. It is not that its yellow clotted cream is different...” Numerous references to the quality of food are found in the advertisements, for example the Osborne Hotel (p. 483) offered clotted cream and rich milk from Tuberculin Tested herd, and garden produce from our own 300 acre farm. The early twentieth century motoring guides produced by Michelin, the Automobile Association and the Royal Automobile Club with their limited references to food are however important period sources regarding the provision of commercial hospitality for the motoring public. They reflect changes in consumer expectations as more detail regarding quality and standards is included.

**5.5.4 News Media** – includes the Trade, local and national press. Daily and weekly publications such as the Western Times and Western Morning News and Express and Echo provide local features and editorials concerning tourism. Unlike the Financial Times and The Times (ranging from 1785-1985) which retain on-line archives local papers at present have to be searched manually. The Trade Press, the *Caterer and Hotel-Keeper* as a long established publication can provide a tourism perspective which shows the industry's concerns and involvement. Features providing advice and information about food and culinary innovations are an important indicator of trends and fashions in the commercial hospitality provided in hotels and restaurants.

**5.5.5 Local Radio and television** - these can provide archival resources and in the case of local broadcasting a limited range of tourism and leisure events are available on-line. In many instances recordings using earlier forms of technology, for example video tapes, have not been possible to store and therefore diminish the resulting archive.

**5.5.6 Regional tourist boards** - from the formation of the regional tourist boards following the 1969 Development of Tourism Act data has been collected and in many cases published in the form of annual reports. Although these provide much valuable statistical and quantitative material they do not supply the forms of qualitative information required for the research.

**5.5.7 Hotels and restaurants** - are potentially an important source of archival data as much printed material in the form of menus, brochures and other marketing material is generated. However the costs involved in organising and storing physical artefacts (many of which are considered to be ephemeral) are prohibitive. Thus very few establishments are inclined, (or have the storage space) to retain items such as menus and brochures. The industry, too, is subject to regular changes of ownership and takeovers and consequently new management is not able, or keen, to keep previous records. This has resulted in a rarity of commercial archives pertaining to establishments that not only existed in the past, such as Deller's in Exeter and Addison's in Torquay, but those still in business, for example The Royal Clarence in Exeter which holds a limited amount of archival materials dating from the 1980s.

**5.5.8 Postcards and photographs** - collections of postcards pertaining to geographical regions including tourist resorts exist, but they are not inclined to be stored as a specific tourism archive. Therefore they have to be searched by tourism- related topics such as tourist destinations and activities. It is important to observe that details including photographer and publisher (local or national), dialect, resorts, and views, might lead to relevant images being discovered. Photographs, holiday journals and diaries from public or private collections form a valuable resource of the holiday and tourism experience often providing a highly personalised and informal record of leisure and tourism, especially where annotated with details of place and date.

**5.5.9 Mass Observation** - contains many diaries and file reports which include references to tourism, leisure and holidays. These offer great potential to the researcher as they are often rich in period, and personal, detail. Street (2007: p. 1) suggests that Mass Observation is closely linked with the 'intellectual history of the discipline of social anthropology in the

United Kingdom'. Street also proposes (p.3) that it is in the vision of its founders a project or 'kind of anthropology of ourselves'. In this context its archival records are important to researchers of everyday life, including leisure and tourism.

The archive for longitudinal tourism research is immense and offers great potential to researchers. However the identification and selection of apposite material is crucial.

### **5.6 The semiotics of tourism research**

It is apparent from the range of resources identified for archival research that the importance and meaning of the signs and images identified, whether in a guidebook, brochure or on a postcard must be considered in the context of food and tourism. Finn et al (2000: pp. 149 - 51) describe semiological analysis as a means of understanding what 'lies beneath the obvious content of the communication'. Two levels of meaning are identified, the denotative or the surface level, and the connotative, a second or deeper level, what the sign means. The images of Devon used on many postcards and in numerous guidebooks often denote food in a rural setting, but at the connotative level these are signs and symbols more about quality, folklore and the rich agricultural legacy and landscape of the county. Echtner (2000: pp. 52-5) suggests that in order to understand the integration of semiotics in tourism Peirce's semiotic triangle might be adapted for a 'tourism marketing rendition' to include Destination (Designatum), Tourism Advertisement (Sign), and Potential Tourist (Interpretant). The images presented in many of the tourist materials typically reflect the fashion and style of the day, for example Widgery's romantic watercolours in Presland's 1920 *Torquay, the charm and history of its neighbourhood*, and the Great Western Railway's vibrant art deco posters of the 1930s. Tressider (2011: pp. 67 -68) reflects on the current use of semiotics and proposes that a social semiotic methodology is used by the hospitality industry. This is evident in numerous marketing strategies reflecting the nature and experience of hospitality whether accommodation, dining or the experience of place.

### **5.7 Using multiple archival resources**

As identified, a wide range of archival resources exists and by using multiple archive resources it is possible to develop a greater understanding of the evolution of a relationship, such as that between food and tourism. One of the major themes of the research objectives is to investigate the evolution of a relationship over time. In order for this to be achieved the tourism archive must be employed to advantage by utilising more than one resource. By using one source only, for example guidebooks, whilst providing a range of detail would exclude the complementary and contrasting elements derived from the media and postcards.

### **5.8 Archival research – the future**

It is important to note that most of the archival sources identified for the purposes of this research are tangible and traditional in that they exist physically as brochures, ephemera or guidebooks and are long established in the industry. They exist as a visual image, as text and as combinations of these. Individually and collectively they are an invaluable resource. Although representing a somewhat dispersed collection, they encompass the timescale and in doing so provide the researcher with access to the past, and details of an industry and its consumers through an extensive period.

Many of the resources also possess an additional unique and individual quality in that they are often quite personal and were not intended for the public domain. In an era of electronic communications such as text and email it is interesting to consider how future researchers will be able to gather, and use, such forms of data. (Although many annual guidebooks are still produced, the trend is for greater use of the interactive media. This has the advantage of providing up-to-date information instantly, but this will probably not be stored long-term thus is not retrievable so is ephemeral.)

### **5.9 Postcards**

Postcards provide the researcher with a great deal of information regarding the evolution of tourism. The postcard can be described as a mass produced resource that is associated with the rise of mass tourism from the late nineteenth century. Communication by postcard was an

inexpensive, rapid and efficient way of exchanging news, travel stories and accounts of holidays. Stevens (1995: pp. 1-3) states that individually and collectively postcards contain not only visual images but that the messages reveal a great deal about individual or societal values. They are important tangible resources and have survived in large numbers providing an important visual and textual resource for researchers in many fields. Ephemeral items made to be used, and often discarded, they offer a 'window into the world as it was viewed by the society of its time'. Waitt and Head (2002: pp. 319-324) identify postcards as 'objects of cultural analysis that sustain myths about destinations'. Kneafsey (2000: p. 40) supports the use of postcards as an important form of supplementary secondary data. Their value as a resource is enhanced when used in conjunction with interviews. They may be linked to other archival materials such as photographs and newspaper cuttings, often stimulating and prompting memories.

Deltiology, the collection of postcards, grew rapidly as the postcard gained popularity during the first quarter of the twentieth century. In the context of tourism they were not only regarded as a means of communication but became items to be saved, mementos, souvenirs, and keepsakes. Markwick (2001: p. 417) describes the picture postcard 'alongside the photograph as being the most widely disseminated tourist icon' serving as a personal memento of the experience and also extending the experience to potential tourists as recipients. Albers and James (1988: pp. 138-139) suggest that since their introduction and mass production postcards have 'functioned quintessentially as souvenirs for tourists' and maybe as a means of validating the holiday to friends and family.

Postcards depicting food (sometimes with recipes) are widely used, often showing national or regional specialities such as Sachertorte from Vienna, Cornish Pasties, or Key Lime Pie from Florida. Images of hotels, cafes and restaurants are frequently encountered, linking the place of consumption to a resort or location, (Cleave 2011: pp. 44-48).

Postcards used in the research were derived from two main sources, collections held in the West Country Studies Library and Devon Records Office, and a subject-specific collection compiled by the researcher from 2007. The George Ladell collection held at the West Country Studies Library (Exeter) is comprised of photocopies of early twentieth century postcards (annotated by Ladell) depicting food from Devon and Cornwall and numerous

food-related press cuttings. The Francis Frith postcard and photographic collection also held at the West Country Studies Library embraces over 300,000 photographs of the British Isles taken from 1860 – 1970. The subject matter includes topography, street scenes and includes people at work and at leisure. It is available on microfiche. An additional collection of mainly topographical cards of Devon is also stored in the collections. These do not specify food as a subject; therefore have to be searched by place name and food association.

English Heritage holds the Nigel Temple collection, an archive of almost 5,000 twentieth century postcards of which 1% feature Devon. They are listed as including tourist resorts and attractions. Amongst these are the cafes and tearooms popular with the visitors for refreshments, and their postcards as a souvenir. It is interesting to note that terms such as tea cottage, tea gardens, tea shelter, and tea house were used in the classification, reflecting an early twentieth century period culinary terminology; one that still used terms encountered in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century guides. These terms provided important clues that assisted when searching collections where subjects were filed using the title or caption on the postcard.

Postcards held in the Devon Record Office (Exeter) include images of resorts, hotels and restaurants, and the Chapman photographic archive. Chapman was a well-known local photographer (based in Dawlish) and is credited by Dartmoor author Beatrice Chase (1931: pp. ix-x) for training her in the art of photography. Her postcards and photographs proved to be popular souvenirs and recorded a vanishing way of life, ‘the days when each pan of cream was scalded separately and the butter made by hand. Now they have separators and churns’. In many ways postcards from this era, and especially those produced by local photographers and publishers, do remain as an important record of some of ‘the old landmarks, old traditions and old customs’ as photographed by Chase, Chapman and others in the first half of the twentieth century. Batchen (1999: p. 212) suggests that photography, and the photographic image is often held to be a ‘proof of that things being’. This may contribute in some way to the popularity of photographic postcards (especially those marketed as *real photographs*) as souvenirs, and as a visual record of place and time.

**Table 5.4 Analysis Grid 1, Postcards dating to 1933**



<u>No</u>	<u>Date/era</u>	<u>Card subject/</u> <u>Context</u> <u>Depicts food =F</u>	<u>Text</u> <u>Caption =</u> <u>C</u> <u>Message</u> <u>= M</u>	<u>Comment</u> <u>&amp; description of card</u>
1	1908	Dumpling <b>F</b> Artist's impression	C	Folklore story of dumplings Colour graphic
2	1908	Junket <b>F</b> <u>Location</u> Studio-posed	C	Dialect caption Sepia photograph
3	1909/11	Cream <b>F</b> <u>Location</u> Dartmoor farm	C M	Open hearth <u>Chapman</u> Black & white photograph
4	1915	Dumpling <b>F</b> <u>Location</u> Studio posed	C	Table setting <u>Chapman</u> Sepia photograph
5	1920	Deller's Café Artist's impression	C M	Interior of café Colour graphic
6	c.1920	A Devon Welcome	C	Traditional dishes Sepia graphic
7	c.1925	Addison's Café <u>Location</u> Torquay	C	Interior of café Sepia photograph
8	c.1925	Strawberries <b>F</b> & cream <u>Location</u> Studio-posed	C	Table setting <u>Chapman</u> Sepia photograph

9	1933	Salcombe	C	Quinton oil painting
		Artist's impression	M	Colour reproduction
10	1933	East Budleigh	M	View of village
		View		Photograph b/w?

Source, author

**Table 5.5 Analysis Grid 2, Postcards dating to 2000+**

No	Date/era	Card subject/ Context Depicts food = <b>F</b>	Text Caption = C Message = M	Comment & description of card
1	c.1950	Dialect	C	'Devonshire cream and cider' Black and white graphic
2	c.1950	Tea room Location Coombe Cellar	C	The famous tea room and gardens Photograph – sepia
3	c.1960	Café Location Steps Bridge	C	Steps Bridge <u>Chapman</u> Photograph, black and white
4	1964	Cockington Village Location Cockington	M	Clotted cream Colour photograph
5	1989	Food & Farming <b>F</b> Produce	C	National promotion of British Food Colour photograph
6	1989	Chef <b>F</b> 'Celebrity'	C	Chef Shaun Hill, Gidleigh Park Colour photograph

		<u>Location</u> Hotel, Gidleigh Park		
7	c.2000	Cream tea <b>F</b> Table setting	C	'West Country' cream tea Colour photograph
8	2007	Cream tea <b>F</b> Table setting	C	Recipe for making clotted cream Colour photograph
9	2008	Beautiful Devon Multi-view	C	...LAND OF COTTAGES AND CREAM Colour photograph
10	2009	'Dining room' <u>Location</u> Totnes	C	'Just had tea at Grey's' Colour graphic

Source, author

#### 5.10 Analysis of the postcards

Albers and James (1988: pp. 135 - 138) propose a four stage content analysis process to study the relationship between tourism, ethnicity, photography and the 'stuff' of photographic images as metonyms and metaphors. This is based on the importance of photographs as a way of depicting ethnicity, a focus on the pictures and messages transmitted by travel photography, content analysis and semiological analysis, the location of the above in a wider discourse on tourist ideology. It is important to consider that the appearances contained in any picture are ambiguous and subject to interpretation and that this may change over time. Earlier cards and images that now appear sentimental, stereotyped or contrived in the twenty-first century may have appeared to represent a true and authentic image at the time of circulation. Hence there are manifest and latent meanings to be observed from many cards.

A grid was constructed in order to classify the sample of cards and is shown in tables 5.4 and 5.5. Considerations include the age of the postcard, its subject and image, whether text (message) was included, whether this included references to food, the theme of the image – for example, scenery, buildings, humour, folklore, or local history. Most of the cards dated from the early twentieth century period of view cards and greetings cards. Most of the cards

were photographic reproductions but two were colour reproductions from artist's original works.

Corkey and Bailey (1994: p. 491) assert that postcards provide an excellent window on the process of place commodification, and in the case of Devon it is through food and tourism that this can be observed. Through the twentieth century period of the research this is evident and Shaw and Williams (2002: p. 114) assert that the process can generate increased flows of visitors, 'leading to improved accessibility to the area by both public and private transport'. Transport was a crucial factor in the development of tourism in the county, giving access to major resorts and the remote and rural regions featured on copious postcards.

**Table 5.6 Cards depicting food**

<b><u>Card</u></b>	<b><u>Date</u></b>	<b><u>Food</u></b>	<b><u>Comment</u></b>
<b>1</b>	<b>1908</b>	Dumpling	The folklore of the Devonshire Dumpling
<b>2</b>	<b>1908</b>	Junket	Junket served with cream (table setting domestic)
<b>3</b>	<b>1909/11</b>	Cream	Making cream, scalding the milk over an open fire
<b>4</b>	<b>1915</b>	Dumpling	Apple Dumpling (table setting domestic)
<b>5</b>	<b>c.1925</b>	Strawberries and cream	Tea table setting
<b>6</b>	<b>1989</b>	Food and Farming	Promotional card
<b>7</b>	<b>1989</b>	Chef, Shaun Hill Gidleigh Park	The chef and creator of the dishes, commercial setting
<b>8</b>	<b>c.2000</b>	Cream tea	Table setting - location?
<b>9</b>	<b>2007</b>	Cream tea	Table setting

Source, author

Table 5.6 identifies the 45% of cards showing food in the form of prepared dishes or ingredients. One depicts the farmstead manufacturing process of clotted cream and one is comprised of a selection of foodstuffs, meat, vegetables and dairy produce. The range of

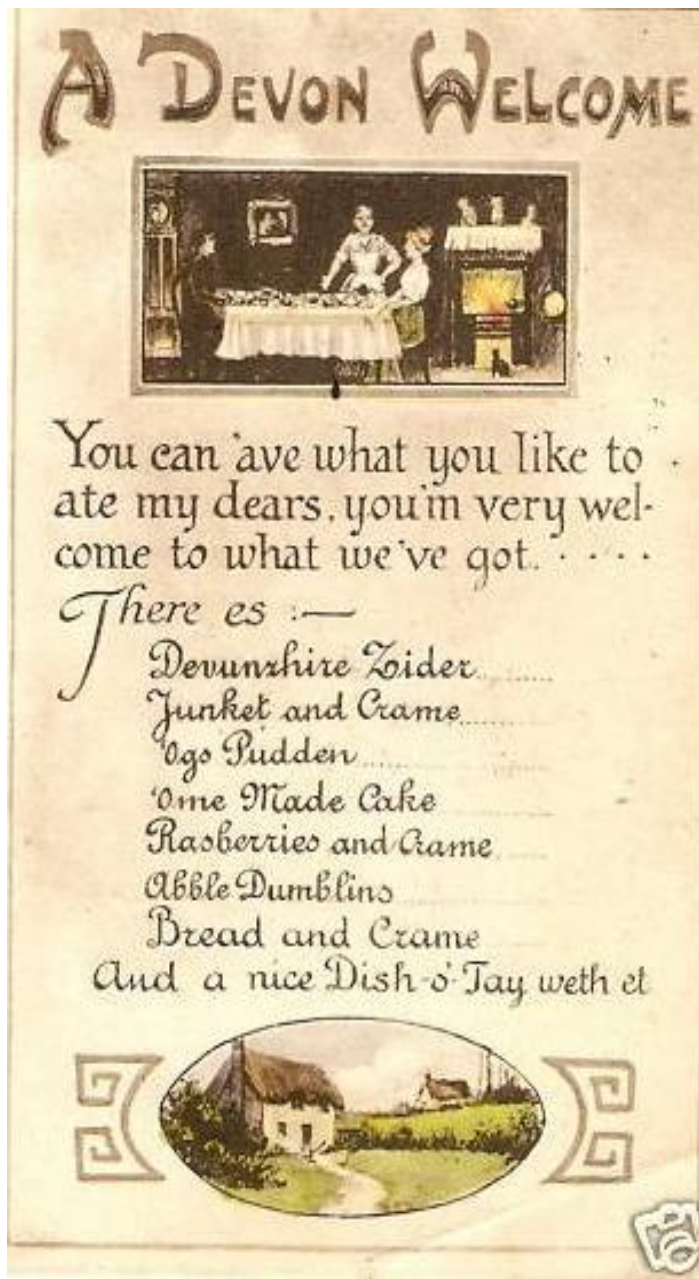
dishes presented on the cards would not be considered comprehensive by some; they tend to be those presented to appeal to tourists and the representation of Devon as rural, quaint and rustic. Examples of traditional Devonshire dishes such as *White pot*, a form of bread and butter pudding, *Squab Pie* of lamb and apples, and *Splits*, or *Chudleighs*, yeasted buns served with cream and jam before the introduction of scones, do not appear. The variety of dishes depicted on the cards appears to have diminished through the timescale to that of the image of the cream tea.

Card 6, plate 1, table 5.4; page 187, *A Devon Welcome* c.1920 does not show food as such but lists a range of dishes in dialect. (A similar version for Cornwall was also published by Frith c.1910 – 30.) These include a range of items associated with the county, Devonshire cider, junket and cream, Hog's Pudding (a type of meat sausage sometimes referred to as *Devonshire Haggis*), Home Made Cake, raspberries and cream, apple dumplings, bread and cream and tea. The card is significant in that it portrays a range of dishes in a domestic setting, they would be considered quite mundane and everyday in comparison to those featured on the Gidleigh Park dining table (card 7) in the late twentieth century. Card 7 is a promotional card, and shows food and the ambience of a luxurious country hotel dining room, alongside the chef and creator of the dishes. It is in contrast to card 6 in that it presents food in a sophisticated and exclusive setting, indicative of changes in consumer expectation and sophistication.

Card 9 (See Appendix 9) demonstrate the service of cream teas in what could appear to be a farmhouse with a country garden background. The location is not identified as one card is captioned *Devonshire Cream Tea* and the identical card also appears captioned *West Country Cream Tea*. (It is interesting to that both scones and yeasted buns appear on the table, in Devon and Cornwall yeasted buns sometimes known as Splits were the forerunner to scones which are made with baking powder, a chemical raising agent. Purists might observe that the prepared scones are served with cream on top of the jam which some suggest is a Cornish variation on the traditional Devon method which puts jam on top of the cream!) This card is also available as a jigsaw puzzle postcard. The producers have introduced other forms of card and souvenir since the growth of text messaging and digital photography to include fridge

magnets, and *local celebrity* cookery books. It should be noted that the cream tea image is still their most popular card and often serves as a photographic souvenir. Plate 6. A Devon Welcome a postcard dating from the early twentieth century shows a range of traditional dishes and uses the local dialect.

**Plate 5.1, Postcard 6, A Devon Welcome**



#### **5.10.1 Postcards and the evolving relationship with food**

The subject matter of the postcards is significant from two perspectives, the visual focus of the postcard as well as text, and the sender's message. From these it is possible that trends in tourism and food consumption can be identified.

Four broad themes can be distinguished, firstly postcards showing dishes or foods that are popular at a particular time, and secondly those associated by tradition with the county. A third theme is the depiction of food outlets and fourthly the geographical location of the postcards, if specified. Some postcards may convey one or more theme in addition to the sender's message such as the Chapman card, see plate 6.2 depicting the manufacture of clotted cream. The location Dartmoor is stated, the food clotted cream is shown, and this was regarded as a speciality and luxury at the time c.1910. The detailed message related to the subject matter of the postcard enhances its archival value greatly.

**Plate 5.2, postcard, 'Real Devonshire Cream'**



A limited range of basic dishes including dumplings, junket, clotted cream, and cream teas appear to be the most popular items depicted on postcards during the first half of the twentieth century. These items would have been the staple holiday fare for many tourists and also much of the local population for they represent the type of food produced and eaten in the county. They are interesting, too, in that the dishes present a contemporary dietary trend for simple, wholesome, substantial, unpretentious food as recommended by the British Medical Association in their 1935 booklet *Family Meals and Catering*. The items also represent a social trend for eating out that for many was restricted to an occasional treat such as afternoon tea where many of these dishes would have appeared. It was not until later in the timescale of the research that eating out became more frequent, and the popularity of these delicacies seems to have diminished – with the exception of the ubiquitous cream tea. In the first half of the twentieth century images of teas including clotted cream are found but postcards depicting cream teas do not emerge until much later in the timescale.

By the late 1980s postcards such as those issued by Gidleigh Park in Devon (an exclusive country house hotel) appear, showing a new and stylish form of local food based on local produce. They are significant too in that the chef, and creator of the dishes and their presentation, Shaun Hill, is featured alongside them. They provide an early example of the chef as a charismatic celebrity, and one involved in the endorsement of local produce. At this time Rick Stein in Padstow, Cornwall and chef, Anton Mosimann at the Dorchester Hotel in London were the focus of much media attention producing attendant cookery books, Hill (1990), Stein (1988), and Mosimann (1981).

The current trend for culinary celebrity was evident at the beginning of the twentieth century timescale. In the 1900s there were famous culinary personalities whose influence encouraged the development of luxury hotels and restaurants. Perhaps the most influential of these were hotelier Cesar Ritz and chef, Auguste Escoffier. Escoffier (who had worked at London's Savoy Hotel) was regarded as a celebrity, endorsing food products, writing cookery books and playing an important part in making eating in public socially acceptable, which was very important regarding tourism and the travelling public. Bourdieu (1986: p. 137) refers to the celebrity endorsement of products and organisations as an involvement in 'a vast operation of social alchemy'. Friedberg (2003: p. 4) suggests that this was a time of change in



consumption and consumer culture with the consumer becoming a more ‘vocal, economic and political force – especially in the realm of food’.

With the growth in eating out and a burgeoning celebrity food culture Jones (2009: p. 14) identifies the status of celebrity chefs at a global level by the end of the twentieth century. Couldry and Markham (2007: pp. 404) indicate that celebrity culture has many influences, with celebrities as role models and celebrity culture offering ‘connections to a world of public and political issues’, in terms of food the influence of a culinary celebrity culture can be seen in the support of health, diet and systems of food production. It is important to observe that at the beginning of the timescale a ‘culinary celebrity’ can be identified, and within a century this has extrapolated to a celebrity culture.

The selected postcards reflect the eras and stages in the culinary/tourism evolution including the growing interest in food and formal eating out, for lunch and dinner. The postcards are important as they serve as reminders of the changing food experience, from eating out as an occasional treat to the motivation for visiting the resort, or a specific food outlet.

#### **5.10.2 Dishes connected with the county, history, folklore and association**

A number of early twentieth century postcards show food depicted with an element of humour in the form of local dialect. (The range of dishes again appears to be restricted to dumplings, pasties, junket and cream.) This might be regarded as the use of colloquialisms, and the reinforcement of a rustic stereotype, but now these cards provide an important record of the county’s social and culinary history, and its dialect. The vernacular links the food to the countryside, and farming community where it would still have been heard. Stories and narratives in Devonshire Dialect were popular in the county and numerous novels and regular newspaper stories were written in dialect by ‘Jan Stewer’ the pen name of A. J. Coles, a fashionable journalist and writer (who also ran an hotel in Exeter). Postcards dating as far as the late twentieth century tend to focus on food in the domestic domain. Many of the images

presented appear to have been photographed (staged) in the home, conferring authenticity and domestic hospitality in contrast to the sophisticated representations of cafes popular with tourists such as Deller's in Exeter and Paignton and Addison's in Torquay.

### **5.10.3 Postcards depicting food outlets**

The commercial outlets of cafes, restaurants and hotels tend not to depict food per se but have a propensity to show the interior or exterior of the establishment and refer to the opportunity and choice of 'eating out' at a particular point in time. That many cards feature cafes and tearooms in the first half of the twentieth century appears to support the popularity of an informal (but special) style of eating out, based on occasions such as 'morning coffee' and 'afternoon teas'. These cards had an important marketing function and are a form of advertisement in addition to their function as a souvenir and means of communication. As an archival resource they provide a glimpse into the fashions and etiquette of eating away from home.

Images of hotels including the Imperial in Torquay and Royal Clarence in Exeter portray elements of local history and opulence featuring the interior and exterior of the hotel and sometimes the view (especially sea or terrain) from it if this was unique and regarded as an attraction. Postcards have been used in the hospitality industry for many years and they are usually included with the guest stationery in the rooms or are available at reception. (London's Savoy Hotel has numerous postcards of the hotel in its archive.) The Dorchester Hotel, London (16. 02. 2010) reported that although the use of postcards has declined somewhat they are still available in the hotel. Current images used include the exterior of the hotel and the service of afternoon tea which for countless guests is considered the archetypal English meal.

The theme of tea as an occasion for eating out on holiday, and as subject matter of the cards, is apparent through the timescale of the research with many showing food or outlets for *tea*. Joliffe (2003: pp. 128-131) supports the interest in what is frequently described as traditional

afternoon tea by identifying two categories of tea tourists, the accidental, those who discover the experience during their visit, and the intentional who seeks out the experience and may extend this by purchasing ‘tea-related consumer goods’ such as tea and ceramics. It is a significant observation that images associated with the English ritual of afternoon tea have been widely used in tourism literature throughout the timescale of the research. These range from the staged and sophisticated images derived from hotels to the rustic, rural versions presented in Devon which are currently in production.

#### **5.10.4 The locations of the postcards**

Postcards depicting food infrequently refer to a particular location associated with its source or production but appear to be generic using terms such as *A taste of Scotland* or *West Country Cream Tea*. Those with captions in dialect tend only to refer to Devon, or vernacular corruptions such as ‘*Debmszur*’, ‘*Devnsher*’ or ‘*Devenshur*’. These terms possibly indicate regional variations in the dialect, their place of origin and may be connected to the food portrayed.

Topographical cards abound and are the most enduring whether moor, coast, countryside or resort. ‘*Beautiful Devon, land of cottages and cream*’ and ‘*Greetings from the Devon Riviera*’ are popular captions still found on view cards and convey something of the stereotypical and contrasting images of Devon as both a rural and ‘Riviera’ resort. Through the twentieth century timescale of the research they can show how tourist resorts have developed and changed physically.

#### **5.10.5 Postcards with sender’s messages**

In some cases cards can be found that contain references to food in their personal messages. Prochaska (2000: p. 418) emphasises the importance of postcard messages as significant in

that the message puts the card into circulation appropriating it from the producer but that ‘one of the most striking characteristics of messages is that they often have nothing to do with the postcard image’. The message may also be written as a lengthy continuous narrative using more than one card, or a series of cards. However five messages referring to food were found in the collection assembled during the data collection process, and one made specific and detailed references to the image shown on the postcard. The messages span nearly 60 years (from the 1900s to 60s) and each refers to clotted cream (the foodstuff appearing most frequently on the postcards). Food appears on two cards and three feature views, Salcombe Cockington and East Budleigh.

The earliest reference is found on an Edwardian card (by Chapman, a local photographer) depicting clotted cream being made on the open hearth fireplace with the caption ‘Real Devonshire cream. A Dartmoor farm, scalding the cream’. It is described thus,

‘Most of the cottagers only have the open hearth and burn peat and send all they want to be roasted to the bakers. I can’t say I like it, it smells smoky.’

(c.1909-11) see plate 2, (G. Ladell Collection).

Such an ethnographic and concise observation of a rural lifestyle is invaluable to tourism research. The open hearth fireplace is described by Bailey in his study of farmhouses and cottages (1961: pp. 223) and also includes a seventeenth century Devonshire innovation (p.168) that of the ‘cream oven for scalding cream to make it clot’ but adds that ‘some housewives no doubt made Devonshire cream over the open fire’. Hartley (1979: p. 474) having observed the production of clotted cream on a farm in Devon notes that ‘peat and wood fires make excellent clotted cream as the heat is gentle’. Gill (1970: p. 176) states that ‘an important function of the hearth was for scalding cream’ and uses the Chapman postcard to illustrate the process. Gill records that for the traditional farmer ‘his wife may scald cream from the cows to sell at the kitchen door or to the local tea-rooms’ (p. 141). It is important to consider the interest shown in the small scale, domestic process of making clotted cream, in that it reflects a way of life itself a great attraction for many visitors. The writer’s comments and narrative are detailed and perceptive and show a keen interest in a way of life that was

changing rapidly. For example, in noting that food was sent to the bakers to be roasted indicates that such cottages did not possess (or could not afford) an oven for baking bread and cakes or roasting meat.

At this time, following the industrial revolution and the growth in mass production, there was considerable interest (and revival) in vernacular styles of architecture, the Arts and Crafts movement and elements of a rural lifestyle. Jekyll (1925: p. 3) records country life and the 'ways of living among the rural working people' noting that it is 'pleasure and relief to get down to the West Country' where the way of living had 'gone on almost unchanged for generations'. Such postcards are important historical records and show how an image may encapsulate an era and way of life.

Many visitors must have been interested in, and attracted by, the seemingly timeless villages and rural landscape encountered during their tours. This was a period during which the amenities of urbane resorts and the countryside with its cottages and farmhouses appealed to tourists. Magazines of the period such as *The Country Home* and *Country Life*, 'The journal for all interested in country life and country pursuits' recorded aspects of rural life. It devoted many articles to the pastoral lifestyle and the leisure pursuits of its readers. These also confirm an interest in the country and its lifestyle, for example a column in the January 15<sup>th</sup> 1910 issue titled *Cottage economy* discussed the financial 'habits of the poor' which may have come to the attention of readers during their visits to the countryside. It is notable that in August 1910 an article titled *The children's month* describes the attractions of the countryside and seaside for children during harvest month (August), stating that there was a holiday atmosphere even round the labours of the harvest (pp. 218-219). The contrast in lifestyle and social status is identified in suggestions that it might be beneficial for children to observe and learn from the ways of country dwellers as,

'.....those who draw their livelihood from the sea have a franker and simpler nature than the more sophisticated town dweller.'

The trend for country weekends and holidays is suggested in the December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1912 issue which included a competition for *a design of a holiday cottage and garden to cost £800* (approximately £70,000 in 2009). Numerous cottage style homes appeared in the resort areas giving access to the coast or countryside and the pursuits it offered.

The attraction of rural life is significant as it appears that tourists were drawn to the countryside for more than holidays, sport and recreation. Their observations indicate their fascination with farming, the lifestyle and dwellings of the cottagers and farmers. Jones (1936: p. 3) derives the appeal of these homes from a continuity stating that ‘during their long lives the farmhouses and village dwellings have been the homes of that characterful and sturdy race which formed the backbone of the English people’. He asserts that agriculture was the main occupational background and that this dictated the work of the seasons and ‘contributory handicrafts’ which appealed to many tourists.

Those who were able to explore rural Devon frequently stayed in farmhouses, or took tea and refreshment there and were able to experience rural hospitality and observe seemingly unchanged elements of its lifestyle. However, this way of life was changing. Garvice (1911: p. 291) observed that the traditions of the rural community were changing, heralding the advancing transformation of the countryside. References to some of the changes in rural life at this time were regarded as resulting from the compulsory education of the children of the labouring class making them ‘dissatisfied with the state of life in which they were born’. He observed that the labourers’ children often sought work in the town and city rather than follow their parents as labourers or domestic servants. The idiom ‘cottagers’ is typical of the period and was probably not used pejoratively but described those who, for generations, had lived and worked on the land. The term referred to the rural labouring class and had been the focus of a study by rural idealist Cobbett (1926: p. 78) in the nineteenth century who provided instructions for keeping cows as an important aspect of small scale domestic economy. A century later in postmodern Britain there is a renewed interest in the past and former systems of food production. Stanes (2005: p. 36) describes the hearth as the ‘real focus and centre of the (farm) house’ and recalls the traditions and practices of farm life in the West Country. What appears to be a form of culinary nostalgia and longing for the perceived simplicity of the past is complex and linked to food concerns such as ethics, organic production, genetic modification and sustainability.

The popularity of clotted cream is verified in the four messages recorded between 1909 and 1964. A card depicting apple dumplings and a dish of clotted cream with a caption in dialect ('You'll 'ave a cup o' tay an' a Devenzhur dumplin', now want ee?') bears the message, 'I am glad you all enjoyed the cream.' (c. 1920). A postscript to a view card of Salcombe reads, 'p.s. Hope you get the cream alright, will go nicely with junket.' (18.09.1933 Salcombe). The message on a card depicting East Budleigh in August 1933 announces the arrival of clotted cream, 'I have sent your Mamma some Devonshire Cream. Tell her there is no preservative in it. It has been showery today.' A card posted in September 1964 from Cockington Forge sends a message to Auntie Florrie hoping that the rain stops soon and that, 'I have sent a 1/4lb of DEVON CREAM between you.'

It is important to observe that four of the cards refer to cream sent as a gift (probably sent by post which was a convenient and popular practice) and one alludes to its production. It is interesting to note the reference to Devonshire cream as not containing any preservative; numerous advertisements in the Exeter Tourist Guides described it as pure and wholesome. The messages also suggest that the cream is special, something of a luxury and probably not easily obtained in other parts of the country. Although cream can still be sent by post and is often taken home as a souvenir, concerns regarding health (with its legal minimum butterfat content of 55%) and distribution through supermarkets may have contributed to a somewhat lower profile in food magazines and brochures since the 1970s. Other points of interest appear to focus mainly on detail of holiday activities and the vagaries of the weather in Devon, for example a card showing the terraced garden and exterior of Deller's Café in Paignton posted in 1932 includes in its message, 'this is one of where we had tea yesterday.'

Each card is unique and an important resource in that it is a personal record and reflection of the experience of a particular holiday at a point in time. For the researcher the importance of the card may be derived from its subject matter and its message whether regarding food, climate or location.

#### **5.10.6 The significance of the postcard**

The postcard is an important indicator of change and continuity and can show stages in the evolution of tourism, whether featuring a resort, topographical view or food-related subject.

They are a multi-dimensional visual text as the subject of the card and the sender's message become viable data sources. Pritchard and Morgan (2005: p. 56) describe the postcard as a genre being a 'context –sensitive narrative, which is a discursive expression of the popular culture of the time'. The postcard too is an important visual component of the retroscape described by Brown and Sherry (2003: p. 12) where a sense of place is evoked through images of the past. French cuisine and gastronomy are described as a 'milieu where antiquity is all, vintage is vital' and tradition, old and improved, is ever present. The postcards depicting food in Devon display these traits indicating a strong interest in the culinary heritage and tradition of the region. They are far more than ephemera temporarily viewed and disposed of. That they are widely collected is a testament to their continuing appeal. The analysis of the postcards indicates much about the relationships between food and tourism in Devon. That the images, locations, text, and occasionally local dialect place the cards in the context of Devon is important and shows the evolving interest in food. In addition it is the sender's (or reverse) messages and comments pertaining to food, and food outlets, which add greatly to the archival research value of the postcards.

From the boom of the early twentieth century, and in spite of the introduction of other forms of tourism-related communication such as the photograph and electronic communication, the postcard has evolved, and endured. They remain a reflection of social and cultural trends and are a worthy resource for tourism research.

### **5.11 The guidebook**

The guidebook is a major resource for tourism researchers, whether regarded as the 'devotional text' of Horne (1984: p. 10), souvenir, or document of social history. A major advantage in using guidebooks is that where consecutive editions exist they can show both continuity and change within a specific location. The guide book is usually rich in text, advertising materials and photographs which illustrate prevailing trends and interests. Therefore the results derived from the guidebook cover many components of tourism. Bhattacharyya (1997: pp. 372-376) describes the guidebook as playing an important part of the 'touristic process as it mediates the relationship between tourist and destination' and between host and guest. The guidebook is described as a key resource that tourists use and that its analysis is important in beginning to understand tourists' experience. The guidebook is also portrayed as a surrogate guide, or leader. Cohen (1985: pp. 9-15) describes the tourist guide as originating from the pathfinder and mentor encountered in earlier forms of tourism



such as the grand tour. Cohen suggests that the guide leads, directs and provides information and often acts as a culture broker. The guidebook too is often retained as a souvenir and memento of the holiday, and those with annotations, marginalia and observations are important resources for researchers.

However, there are limitations to be considered, and the purpose and function of the guidebook has to be carefully measured. Is the guide book representative of the region or destination, or is it selective and exclusive to a particular area. Who is the producer or publisher; it may be the production of a trade association or local authority. Who is the target audience; the guide book is essentially a commercial (and often promotional) production and may have a wide distribution to potential visitors. Would there be bias in the pre-nationalisation railway guides that refer to one company and the scope of its line that may exclude other parts of the county. Thus the date of publication is also an important consideration.

The guidebooks selected for the research are mainly the Exeter city guides. (The independently produced *Come to Devon* guides produced by the Come to Devon Association were also used as they provided detail at county level.) These are available for nearly every year of the timescale excluding some of the two World Wars). They can be used to illustrate continuity and change throughout the timescale of the research. The city guides also include references to other parts of Devon, thus are not exclusively to one location. Content analysis was used to identify pertinent themes emerging from the series of guidebooks available and is shown below in tables 5.7 the Exeter City guidebooks, and in table 5.8, the major themes. In order to establish how the relationship between food and tourism has evolved and how the provision of food for tourists has changed through the timescale four themes were distinguished. These can be reviewed as references to food in text or advertisements; retail food outlets (shops, cafes and restaurants); heritage (including traditional food); and food as a souvenir.

Major themes emerging from the guidebooks include references to food, in text or image, specific food outlets, such as restaurants and shops, heritage and tradition, health and food as a souvenir.

Table 5.7 Exeter City Guidebooks 1902 - 2010

YEAR	ERA	COMMENTARY
1 1902 1		The belle époque
2 1906 “		
3 1908 “		
4 1910 “		
5 1912 “		
6 1913 “		
7 1914 “		
8 1916 2		The inter-war and depression era
9 1918 “		
10 1921 “		
11 1924 “		
12 1928 “		
13 1932 “		
14 1936 “		<i>Come to Devon Guide, 1936</i>
15 1937/8 “		Holidays with Pay Act, 1938
16 1939 “		Outbreak of World War Two
17 1940 “		
18 1941 “		
19 1946/7 3		The post-war (WW2) from austerity to the Development of Tourism Act, 1969
20 1949 “		<i>Come to Devon Guide, 1949</i>
21 1953 “		
22 1956 “		
23 1957 “		
24 1963 “		

25 1967 “	
26 1969 “	
27 1972 4	The 1970s to the 1989 review of the Development of Tourism Act
28 1977/8 “	
29 1990 “	
30 1991 5	The era of green, eco and environmental concerns
31 1996 “	
32 2009 “	
33 2010 “	

Source: author.

Table 5.7 shows the Exeter guide books used in the data collection process. These proved to be an important resource as they were designed to promote the city and the county. Most of the guides with the exception of the *Come to Devon Guides* and *Worth's Guide* for 1902 were produced by the City Council. Although there does not appear to be a guide available for every year in the timescale (for example there are no city guides for 1942 -1945) each era is represented.

### 5.11.1 References to food in text and visual images

Typical of the detail in the city guides is the range of advertisements that may have appealed to tourists. Uzell (1984: p. 81) states that advertising is concerned with informing people about the existence of a product or service and ultimately changing their opinions, attitude and behaviour 'so that they will want to consume that product or service'. Throughout the twentieth century guidebooks there are many references to food mainly through the advertisements for hotels and cafes and for local produce that may have appealed as a souvenir or gift.

The 1936 *Come to Devon Guide* includes many references to food in text such as that for Ilfracombe:

“From the farms in the immediate neighbourhood enormous supplies of real Devonshire cream are daily consumed, there is no stint of this well-known fare at the hotels boarding houses cafes etc.; this has, no doubt, done much to earn for the town the title of ‘the land of strawberries, junket and cream.’”

The popularity of the resort is suggested as resulting from “the wagging tongues” (word of mouth) of well pleased visitors rather than from the stereotyped images ‘pressed on the public by posters and advertisements’ (p.41).

Rural Devon and its products are described with pannier markets noted as being ‘of unfailing interest to the visitor’ (p. 69). Paignton, in addition to its traditional hotels and accommodation, offered pick-your-own fruit holidays at the *Fruit Farm Camp (Children’s paradise)*. With a range of accommodation in bungalows (a small type of chalet) and tents it provides an early example of a food activity based holiday. It is important to note that Devon and Cornwall were promoted as the *Riviera of England*. The benefits of its climate, sun traps, good food and pure water, and medicinal baths in Torquay were claimed to be equal to the benefits provided by foreign spas. In addition it was described as ‘the premier health resort for children in the whole of Europe’. (pp. 148-9). Such claims, although unsubstantiated, are important as they denote health interests and concerns of the period (and were also featured in the 1949 edition).

Devon Clotted Cream is advertised by Hammett’s dairies advising those wishing for cream “Oh! To be in Devon....but why not have some sent by post”? (p. 220). Bakers and confectioners Ingerson and Woollett, in Tavistock noted for saffron cakes and buns a speciality usually associated with neighbouring Cornwall, suggested, “take some home to your friends.”

The terminology associated with restaurants, cafes and hotels provides useful social indicators and references to food, such as the American tea gardens at Dunsford where home-

made cakes were provided and *Motoring coffee a speciality* (p. 232). At this time car ownership and motoring holidays were increasing in popularity and the influence of American consumerism such as soda fountains added a contemporary transatlantic appeal to cafes. By 1939 private car ownership was estimated to be 2 million, O'Connell (1998: p.11). Colsons (an Exeter department store) café and tea lounge stated that, 'In addition to Tudor room, coffee and tea lounges there is a modern AMERICAN SODA FOUNTAIN finished in silver and marble.' (Funderberg (2002: p. 101) suggests that the popularity of the soda fountain was due, in parts to its novelty and innovation, but also that it provided a respectable meeting place for women. It was, for many an important social centre) The Historic guide to Exeter, 1928 (p. 111).

The Northhall Café at Widecombe-in-the-Moor emphasised tradition and heritage offering board and residence in glorious moorland surroundings, 'practically camp life with home comforts.' The café is stated as being 'run on old Devon lines – proprietress descendent of old Widecombe family who can trace their ancestry back 400 – 500 years of residence in Widecombe.' This is contrasted with the somewhat pretentious and sophisticated tone of The Haytor Tea House, 'a rendezvous for people of taste and refinement', it offered everything for the tourist including; 'champagne air and glorious scenery.'

Many of the recommendations in the Come to Devon guide appear in a contemporary pictorial guide (*A few pictures of Torquay*) produced for 1937 by the Torquay Chamber of Trade and Commerce and the Corporation publicity department. Torquay is described as a 'Gem of the Riviera', and that unlike other parts of the county it has 'no industry apart from the manufacture of health'(Ibid p.i). The resort is presented as elegant and exclusive with extensive lawns, flowerbeds and palm trees and it is suggested that its *many natural attractions* ensured its appeal to *all classes of holiday folk*.

There are references to food within the guide although they appear to be secondary to entertainment and sunshine the resort provided. They tend to appear mostly in the advertisements, and hotels usually are consigned to terms such as excellent cuisine, first class Devon fare, or at the Torquay Hydro Hotel *special diet provided if required*. Fresh fruit and

vegetables from own garden and a sun lounge on the terrace *where meals may be served* were among the benefits offered by Alwyns Convalescent Home. At Roslin Hall, *The holiday home of sunshine* picnic lunches and midnight picnics could be arranged. The interest in health apparent in both the Come to Devon Guide and A few pictures of Torquay is reflected where food is mentioned but food in the context of the meal experience is restricted to afternoon tea. It would not be until later in the twentieth century in post-industrial society and the experience economy that eating out emerged as a tourist activity and reason for visiting the county.

The post-war era is represented in the 1949 edition of the Come to Devon Guide. It is in many ways representative of the period of austerity. Poor quality paper, fewer photographs and much smaller, 96 pages in comparison to the bulky 368 of the 1936 edition. However, there are references to food commensurate with the rationing restrictions and aspirations of the period.

The format of the guide is similar to earlier pre-war editions and the county is described in terms of heritage and tradition with references (Ibid p.5) to *makers of history, gallant adventurers* and its *scenic grandeur*. Activities for the tourists emphasise fishing, hunting and golf while Torquay (Ibid p.85) is described as the health metropolis of Great Britain, and a modern holiday resort second to none. It is noted for its; *equable climate and a record of sunshine hours unbeaten by any other seaside resort in the county*. Most of the references to food are connected to fishing, for example Beer (Ibid p. 31) is described as *a hamlet of fishermen*, and Coombe Cellars (Ibid p. 44) described as: ‘a picturesque and romantic beauty spot where visitors can have a real Devonshire tea or enjoy a plate of the cockles for which Coombe Cellars is justly famous today.’ Their special flavour was ‘fully retained by a special method of steaming.’

The references to accommodation indicate a shortage of bed spaces in some areas, but many of the advertisements allude to local produce and traditional meals. *Homely accommodation* and *Best Devonshire fare* were available at the Swan Inn, Bideford (Ibid p.32) and at the Orchard House Hotel, near Watersmeet in North Devon *Best English food prepared with a*

*Continental dash* was offered including *own farm produce*. The Orchard House Hotel Chudleigh (Ibid p. 41) was open to non-residents for *Teas, Luncheons, Dinners, Snacks*. The guidebooks provide a contemporary point of reference to trends and patterns in food consumption, indicating consumer expectations and standards of food provision.

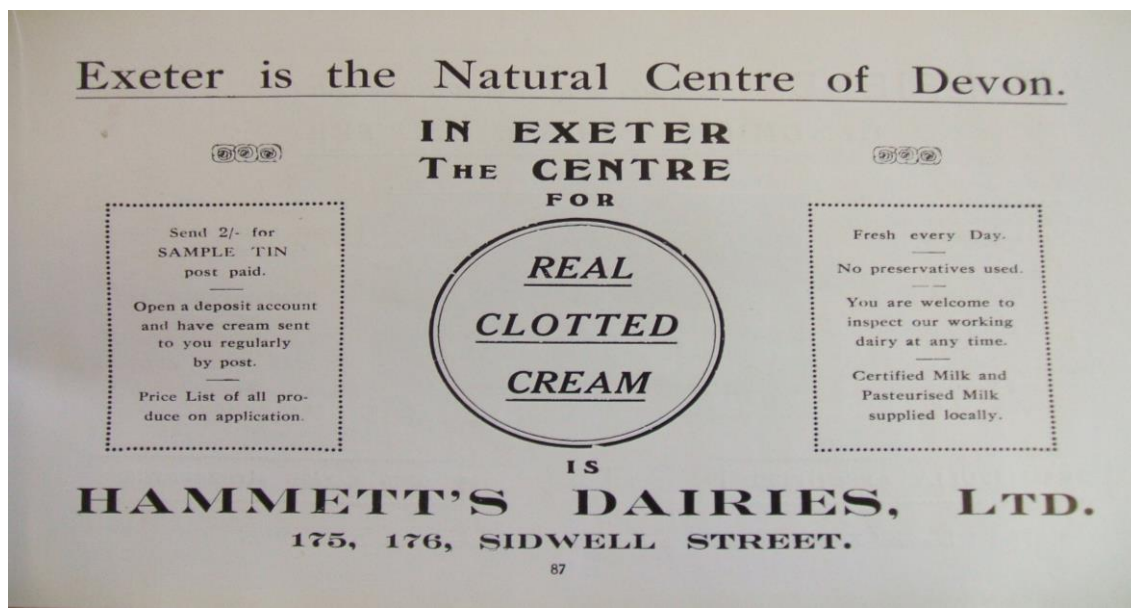
Many of the advertisements in the guidebooks are comprised of photographic or graphic images and/or text. Through the evolution of the timescale the advertisements move from text only to text and graphic, text and monochrome photograph to full colour images. The images selected for the guidebooks tend to reinforce the themes of heritage, tradition, and the rural landscape with Exeter Cathedral, the north and south Devon coastlines, thatched cottages and Dartmoor appearing frequently.

Hotels, restaurants and food producers were regularly featured in the guidebooks and an increasing number of independent travel guides. The text and images associated with many hotels often combines the themes of tradition, heritage and landscape. The Burgh Island Hotel in South Devon was presented in the 1949 *South Devon, for the most beautiful holiday resorts in Great Britain*, guidebook as offering visitors a unique situation with a romantic setting, magnificent scenery and a ‘modern and luxurious hotel offering the maximum of comfort and service.’ Excellent cuisine, an ample cellar and courteous staff contributed to the ‘much desired but rarely found atmosphere of contentment.’

In contrast the modest Endsleigh Hotel near Dartmouth offered the combination of tradition, heritage and landscape with its ‘sheltered beach, some of the prettiest country in England and good food well cooked, courtesy and kindness and a homely atmosphere.’ Such references are important in that they convey consumer trends and expectations in the tourism and hospitality industry whether the exclusive or popular sectors of the market.

Production of clotted cream frequently appeared as a speciality of the county, and one that could be sent by post. Hammett’s Dairies, shown below, see plate 3, and The Cathedral Dairy Company figure prominently up to the 1960s.

### **Plate 5.3, Hammett’s Dairies**



The hotels and restaurants appearing in the city and county guides are usually featured in the advertisements although there are references to the provision of hospitality in the text. Details of food and accommodation was included in motoring publications such as the Michelin Guide to the British Isles (1914: p. 273) which describes Exeter's leading hotels as 'well appointed and very comfortable containing all modern improvements', but the quality or provision of food is not detailed other than the price of meals. Twenty years later the Automobile Association Handbook Supplement (1935-6) provides details of restaurants, cafes and hotels with the range (and costs) of meals provided. It would not be until the post-war period that the detailed and specific food guides such as Raymond Postgate's Good Food Guide appeared.

In many instances food is not mentioned per se, the entry in the 1916 Official guide is typical and appears in the 1912, 13, 18 and 21 editions;

'To a holiday maker who has spent many hours a tramp or saddle, the crowning joy of a good day is the evening rest at a comfortable inn or hotel. On this score the tourist who makes Exeter his centre will have no cause for complaint. The management of Exeter's leading hotels and restaurants is thoroughly modern.'

It is the provision of facilities for motorists and cyclists that attract attention rather than food and these appear from the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1906 (Worth's Exeter), The Royal Clarence Hotel, in addition to offering the comfort of a country mansion provided



*necessaries for motors*. In later editions it was noted that *stables have been replaced in many cases by garages*.

It is from scrutiny of the advertisements that detail regarding the commercial provision of food can be obtained, and the trend for eating out identified, (Benson and Ugolini 2006). Entries such as those featured in The 1908 Mate's guide advised readers that in Exeter:

‘there are several restaurants of note and at the café of Messer's Deller's in the Close and Palmer and Edwards in High Street, luncheons and teas may be enjoyed to the accompaniment of music.’

The entry for Deller's provides an insight into the social life and eating habits of the era in that the café was described as *the popular resort for luncheons and dainty teas, very moderate charges. String orchestra daily*. Subsequent entries in the guidebooks show how by 1939 Deller's had moved with the times and now provided a wider range of dining opportunities as a café and restaurant:

‘Deller's will always be Deller's. Exeter's popular café-restaurant. Table d'hôte dinners, Devonshire teas, fish suppers. Varied a la carte menu at popular prices.’

Deller's remained a culinary institution and popular attraction for tourists until its destruction in the blitz of 1942.

The historic heritage of Exeter (and Devon) was emphasised in the guides throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Numerous references for Exeter and Devon appeared as a centre for the tourist who tended to be categorised according to interests in history, sport, and recreation. The historic buildings, landscape, figures and events from the past were presented as a unique attraction and motivation for tourists. Fowler (1992: p. 109) states that contemporary use of the past is increasingly linked to nostalgia and this can be identified in the text and images used in later editions of the guides. The foreword to the 1908 Official Guide (Mate: 1908) includes a statement from the publishers that:

‘Exeter is a city redolent of past memories and ancient greatness’ and that ‘Its proximity to sea and moorland constitute it an ideal centre for many beautiful and interesting excursions. As a centre for tourists, its resources have only lately been recognised and developed. It has found much favour amongst motorists on account of the excellent accommodation which has been made for their convenience.’

This theme is developed in the 1921 Exeter Official Guide of the City Council. Published by the official information bureau for the City Council (p. 8), the city is described as the ideal base for a motor touring holiday:

‘Exeter as a tourist centre. The facilities afforded by the motor-car for easy travelling have gradually opened the eyes of the true born Englishman to the beauties of the land which William the Norman was so anxious to possess. The erstwhile continental traveller now motors over hills and through the valleys of his own domain. The motorist will find the watering places of Exmouth, Sidmouth, Budleigh Salterton, Lyme Regis, Teignmouth, Paignton and Torquay readily accessible. There is good fishing at Salmon Pool and elsewhere on the Exe.’

Fishing was often suggested as a sporting motivation for visiting the county, with Exe Salmon and shellfish from Brixham and Whitebait at Turf Lock noted as attractions.

The 1914 (July, souvenir of the visit of the Canadian and Newfoundland teachers to Exeter) Official guide of the City Council (p.8) in recommending Exeter as a tourist centre asserts:

‘Exeter is the kind of city in which all tourists delight to tarry. The Turf Lock Hotel is mentioned and ‘the whitebait season commences in May and continues to October.’

*Exeter as a Tourist Centre* was a clearly defined section of the guides for almost a century, until 2007 and the opening of the redeveloped retail outlets of Princesshay, when the emphasis became Exeter as a retail centre, supported with selected ‘iconic historic images’ such as the Cathedral, Guildhall and Quay.

Reading the guidebooks today there are references to traditional foods but these tend to be restricted to ingredients namely dairy produce, meat, fish and fruit. Junket (a sweet, milk dish set with rennet) appears in advertisements up to the 1950s, but there appears to be an absence of other local dishes and menus. It is not until the later editions of the guidebooks that food is described separately, and as an attraction or benefit for visitors. However, much information and apposite detail can be gathered from the texts throughout the timescale.

It is in the advertisements that food is described with clotted cream and ‘Stone’s essence of rennet’ appearing regularly. Where hotels, restaurants and cafes mention food it tends to be

similar to those found in the 1902 Wheaton and Co. guide, *Historic Exeter, Ancient and Patriotic city of the West of England*:

‘St Martin’s restaurant, luncheon and tea rooms, 39 High Street Exeter, High class bakery establishment. Genuine whole meal and malt bread daily, or A.W.Boon, 5 Eastgate Exeter, Best quality Devon Ox Beef.’

The history and tradition of Clotted cream is described in the 1908 Mate’s guide, (p.i), in the advertisement of The Cathedral Dairy Company:

‘The art of making clotted cream was first brought to the people of Devon and Cornwall by the old Phoenicians who traded for tin along our coasts.’

This description is developed in the 1912 Ward Lock guide (p.ix) which describes clotted cream in the context of the landscape and the production of dairy produce:

Devonshire lies nearer to the heart of the holiday maker who glories in its clotted cream and junkets, its handmade butter fresh from some ice cool dairy, its narrow tortuous lanes. Devonshire is a veritable playground.’

The idealised image of Devon as a rural playground is personified (p xxiv) in the Dorothy Frances Gurney extract, *‘Oh the little maids of Devon, they have skins of milk and cream.’* By 1916 the Cathedral Dairy Co. is advertising other specialities in addition to cream, ‘Devonshire butter, cream, cheese, honey. Despatches by parcel post and rail daily.’ **‘Largest makers of clotted cream in the world’**. In the intervening years references to food are restricted to dairy produce but by 1924 fish and meat are listed identifying location and origin in Worth’s guide book. These include; Havill and Son. ‘Purveyors of choice English meat. Real Exmoor, Southdown and Dartmoor mutton. Pickled tongues, sausages. Quality the true test of cheapness.’ R. Mock and Sons are described as:

‘The premier fish house of Devon. Martin’s Lane. For fish, game, poultry, ice, and oyster merchants. Fruiterers. Also florists.’

‘Wishford Dairy’ was noted for;

‘Best Devonshire produce, milk, butter, cream, eggs fresh from the country daily. Over 100 prizes for butter and cream.’

### 5.12 Souvenirs

A wide range of tourist souvenirs can be identified from the brochures and guidebooks. These included cream, cider, confectionery and pottery. The main food- related souvenir is undoubtedly clotted cream and this features in practically every guide as a luxury and speciality. The fact that it could be sent by post afforded the product a unique selling proposition and direct link between the sender, place of origin and sendee. Cream by post for example is featured in Worth’s 1906 guide thus;

‘No visitor should go away without tasting the famous clotted cream to be obtained in perfection at the Cathedral Dairy Company. Exeter. Frequent despatches by parcel post daily.’

Worth’s also sold the *tourist resort* souvenirs, including china, postcards, and Exeter art pottery. Devon pottery, usually earthenware, glazed and decorated with mottoes in dialect, often featured food, especially clotted cream and junket. Brannam in North Devon and the Torquay potteries produced vast amounts for the tourist market. The 1913 and 1914 Exeter guides were dedicated as souvenirs commemorating the visits of the Royal Sanitary Institute

in 1913 and a visit of Canadian and Newfoundland teachers in 1914. The 1918 Exeter official guide contains an advertisement for Freeth's tofferies, and freshly made chocolates, in the 1932 Historic Guide (p.118) they have extended the product range to include '*Cream ices and bricks in The best in the west for chocolates and confectionery*'. There were other local confectioners in the county producing confectionery for the tourist market. These included Auther's, Cleave's and Bristow's of Devon in Crediton and Tucker's in Totnes. Cream toffees, butterscotch and sticks of souvenir rock were the staple confectionery products prior to the Second World War. The 1940 edition of Historic Exeter included Hammett's Dairies advertisement as the centre for clotted cream inviting customers (and tourists) to 'open a deposit account and have your cream sent to you regularly by post'.

Most guidebooks ceased production during the wartime period although tourists still managed to visit the county. During the immediate post-war period, in the 1947 City guide, Exeter was promoted as the ideal centre for touring Devon. However it is clear that in the years of austerity food shortages and scarcity were a problem for both the industry and consumers. In spite of these difficulties Hammett's Dairies advised readers as follows:

'Past, before the war we sent such delectable foods from Devon, clotted cream, Devon Honey and our famous pork sausages all over the country, by post, as well as supplying locally all who appreciated high quality foods produced under the best conditions. Every year our goods gained awards from all the national shows.

Present, scarcity reigns and the hum-drum service of supplying such quantities of milk, meat, groceries and provisions as are permitted under rationing and control.

Future; we look forward to reinstating our full service of the past with the emphasis as before on foods of local production and our own manufacture. Let it be soon!'

It is important to note the way in which local produce is emphasised. After rationing ended in 1954 Hammett's advertised in the 1957 guide reminding readers that they were Clotted cream

prize-winners and that, *Nothing on earth or in a poet's dream is so rich and rare as your clotted cream*. They now boasted a milk bar and cafeteria.

From this time the guidebooks tend to focus on the provision of food in commercial outlets and eating out, rather than food as souvenirs to send or take home. Advances in distribution and retail techniques ensured a widespread and regular supply of Devonshire clotted cream and dairy produce although *Cream by post* was still a popular souvenir.

A number of significant themes emerge from the analysis of the guidebooks and demonstrate the evolving relationships between food and tourism. These are shown in table 5.8 and embrace heritage, tradition, souvenirs, health, and food outlets. Traditional methods of food production and locations such as farms have assumed greater significance as consumers seek authenticity and provenance in their food choices. From the late twentieth century food emerges as a marker of heritage, health and tradition, the origins of this transition can be found in the earlier guidebooks.

Improvements to health have been a motivation for visiting the county from the days of the spas. Influential, but frequently unsubstantiated, claims regarding the benefits to health of visiting Devon appear in guidebooks, these are indicative of health concerns at a particular time. The healthy clean air of Alpine resorts had long been acknowledged as beneficial for those suffering from consumptive diseases, and Devon is often described in terms of European destinations associated with beautiful scenery, healthy air and mild climates. Brendon (1992: p.81) suggests that Ruskin had stimulated the alpine appetite in the Victorian age, 'rhapsodizing about the pure and holy hills'. Torquay is suggested as equating to the Riviera, Naples with its *Mediterranean blue sea*, or even being *Montecarloesque*. The densely wooded hills surrounding the Lyn Valley Hotel in Lynmouth are described as *England's Switzerland in the Lorna Doone Country* (Come to Devon Guide, 1936: p. 321).

The county therefore provided an accessible and healthy alternative destination for many tourists. These distinctions are important as they are in part a reflection of the established medical knowledge and advice of the time. For example in the 1930s clean air, sea bathing, sun bathing, hiking and rambling were popular leisure and holiday activities. The county provided a healthy respite from the London smogs and pollution of the industrial towns. The

summer issue of *Modern Living* (1939: p.30) reported the quest for country air and sunshine as an antidote to rickets, and lung diseases in children. These concerns are detected in the foci of numerous guidebooks in text and advertisements which stress the purity of the air, and outdoor activities to be enjoyed at the seaside or in the country. Open air swimming pools such as the Plymouth Tinside Lido provided open air entertainment and exercise while *Hydro* hotels and the *Marine Spa* in Torquay offered a combination of hydrotherapy cures and treatments with the amenities of a luxury hotel. The Marine Spa in 1949 advertised *medical bath* treatments and *light morning concerts by the spa quartet* (South Devon, for the most beautiful holiday resorts in Great Britain 1949).

It is important to consider the way in which food featured in the advertisements as part of a cure, in terms of quality and provenance. From the late 20<sup>th</sup> century ethical, social and environmental issues differentiate the interest from earlier times. This is evident in the guidebooks. Anstey's Manor (South Devon, 1949) informs guests that there is always a plentiful supply of fresh vegetables and salads from the garden. The food is described as 'cuisine of a fine and satisfying art, in the words of Ruskin combined, 'English thoroughness and French art'.

#### **5.12.1 Themes emerging from guidebooks**

The guidebook is an important means of communication with tourists and the visiting public. Throughout the timescale they have presented an image of Exeter and Devon as a resort rich in heritage, situated in a unique natural landscape and providing good food. The ways in which these factors are presented has changed, from sparsely illustrated textual guidebooks to full colour publications and electronic versions. Their evolution reflects advances in technology from the use of graphics and photography to interactive web sites. The guidebooks are a rich resource as they enable the researcher to identify themes and strands of tourism through the timescale. Significant themes derived from the guidebooks are presented in table 5.8.

**Table 5.8 Themes emerging from the guidebooks**

Theme	Era emerging
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Food-related activities	<b>Late 20<sup>th</sup> century</b>
References to food in text and visual images	<b>1900 -39, 1960 - 2000</b>
Food as a reason for visiting Devon and Exeter	<b>1920s - 2000</b>
Specific food outlets, shops and restaurants	<b>1900 - 2000</b>
Differentiation of Exeter and Devon in terms of food	<b>1900 – 1920s</b>
Heritage and tradition in the context of food and tourism	<b>Late 20<sup>th</sup> century</b>
Communicating the message regarding food to the visiting public	<b>Late 20<sup>th</sup> century</b>
Food as a souvenir (Clotted cream)	<b>1920s/30s</b>
Change, continuity and evolution in food and tourism in Devon	<b>1900 - 2000</b>

Source, author

The significance of local history pervades the guide books and brochures. From the beginning of the twentieth century with the emphasis on the past, to the promotion of the city as a retail attraction supported by images of historical attractions this, is evident. Since the 1908 Illustrated Guide to the City of Exeter, which describes the July Lammas fair as *one of the many links with the past that constitute the charm of this most modern and ancient City of Exeter* the past has played a key role in attracting tourists.

A recurring theme to emerge from the guidebooks was the role of food as a feature of food production and tradition in the county. At the beginning of the timescale of the research this was emphasised with the production and sale of a variety of foods including clotted cream. This was regarded as a luxury foodstuff and considered a heritage food. Bessiere (1998: p. 30) asserts that the heritage component of food is an important factor in ‘tourist attraction, integration and denomination’. The traditions and provenance of local food and methods of production are frequently employed in tourism-related activities.



The guide books are an important source of information regarding the changing role of food, from industrial to post-modern society. They provide a critical source of images, some iconic, in the form of advertisements, photographs, and text. They are an important source of nostalgic imagery of food used throughout the timescale of the research. This includes the retail sector and activity, increasing emphasis on food outlets, eclectic, wider food trends and less emphasis on local dishes, but locally produced given credence in terms of ethics and environmental concerns.

For most of the guides a standard range of photographs was used, following World War Two. In many cases these were ascribed to local photographers for example Wykes, Chapman, Galloway and Authers or companies which enable images to be verified.

The Exeter and Devon guides demonstrate much about the changing food culture in the county and aid the researcher in the identification of significant contextual themes. As summarised in table 5.8 food-related activities for example eating out and food as a souvenir are juxtaposed with heritage, continuity and change. The themes range from the descriptions of food as a product to food in the experience economy. They show increased and diverse opportunities for eating out, food as a tourist and recreational activity, and a gastronomic reason for visiting Devon.

### **5.12.2 The evolution of Exeter City guide books**

The Exeter City guide books were, for most of the twentieth century, the principal promotional tool of the City Council. Their evolution is important, representing changes in the way the city and its environs were presented to the public. Members of the tourism team at the City Council indicated, in 2009, how the role and function of the guidebooks was evolving;

From the inception of the Exeter City Guides there have been many changes in their style, content and distribution. Representatives of the City Council suggest that the guide has

changed due to many factors, political and economic. The former guides ('Historic Exeter') ceased production in 1995. It was regarded as advertisement funded with copy and photographs supplied by the city council. The role of the City Council has evolved, and in many ways reflects changes that have occurred in tourism and its promotion. (Mandy Pearce, Promotion and Marketing, Exeter City Council 23.06.09)

Since the mid-1990s the City Council has worked with business in other ways such as the Exeter Festival or individual events. This includes sponsorship where 'a firm may sponsor rather than use a guide'. The City Council now sometimes works in collaboration with the Exeter Citizen newspaper. It was suggested that by the 1990s the number of guides printed was relatively low, approximately 10,000. However, now it is possible to have a significant website presence and link Visit Britain and Visit Devon rather than a brochure. This is perceived as an advantage as the website allows the City Council to reach a large market in the UK and Europe.

### **5.12.3 The changing focus of Exeter's tourism**

A significant change in the promotion of the city is that Exeter is currently promoted as a destination for a retail day visit, short break, or a shopping break up to the Christmas period which extends the market for tourism. Previously heritage was promoted as the motivation for visiting the city. (Victoria Hatfield, Tourism Manager, Exeter City Council 23.06.09)

In the past the guides primarily emphasised the history and heritage of the city and contrasted the past with details of its retail and commercial activities. For instance in the 1921 Official Guide of the City Council (p. 78) Exeter is described as a 'rendezvous of English tourists and Mecca of those many American travellers claiming descent from the Pilgrim Fathers'. The city was said to be *at the centre of a large residential district populated by the gentry and the well-to-do classes, it follows a natural corollary that well appointed shops should be found in the city*. The shopping facilities were claimed to be equal to those of London – but at a much

lower price. Some of the *fine establishments* are said to provide goods equal to the quality and appearance of those found in Bond Street and Oxford Street. However, since September 2007 the emphasis of the guides has changed. Following the redevelopment of the post-war (World War Two) retail centre of the city it is suggested that the city has become a centre for shopping rather than heritage since the Princesshay retail development opened.

An important aspect of recent developments has been the ways in which food is now regarded as a leisure and tourism activity. The City Council consider that 'Eating out is a by-product of shopping. 9/10 people will eat out when they visit the city'. The website and booklets produced by the city and county list places to eat, there has been a shift and change to café culture and eating *al fresco*. (The food outlets are eclectic and range from popular themed catering outlets and chains to *fine dining*.)

It is important to note the ways in which the marketing tools have evolved. The website is considered to be a success as it is *instantaneous*, [exetershopping.org.uk](http://exetershopping.org.uk) was launched in February 2009 and an e-newsletter with 17,000 addresses is used to tell potential visitors about themed events, family holidays and activities. The city hosts media and PR visits which generate newspaper and magazine articles. It is important to observe that although the former style of guidebook is no longer published; new technologies allow many segments to be targeted. Social networking (*facebook, twitter and You Tube*) blogs, competitions and holiday videos may be used to tell people about themed events (including a shopping guide). Thus a new form of communication gives the city (and County) a contemporary way to interact with consumers.

Printed guides are still produced but in a different style to the former guidebooks. A number of smaller specific guides such as the A4 Mini guide for day visitors, the shopping guide, the attraction guides, group organiser's guide for WIs (and other groups) and the Visitor guide for overnight stays. These are costly to produce and the council has to consider postage which is suggested as contributing to the popularity of the website. This also affords instant and interactive access for potential consumers.

Exeter City Council does have a tourism partnership working with neighbouring areas. Devon County provides business support and Visit Devon (DMO) works with Exeter City Council, South West Tourism and Visit Britain who provide up to date information. Although the City Council is keen to promote shopping other images of the city are used in the guides such as the Cathedral which is the iconic image of the city and appears in the good food guide.

The guidebooks form an important record of tourism in the city and the county. From the early examples in which the heritage and the history of the city were predominant, to the electronic versions much can be learnt about a destination's relationship with food. The descriptive and often evocative advertisements found in the 20<sup>th</sup> century examples were the main way in which information about food and retailing was communicated to the tourist. It is important to see how with new technology this still happens but in another way.

A major development in the relationship between food and tourism is the way in which food is promoted in connection with the county. This is encountered in the seemingly informal and voluntary mechanisms encountered in the earlier guides to complex systems operated by organisations such as Taste of the West which promotes food in the region. (Gill Stanley, Tourism Exeter City Council 24.06.09)

The Food and Drink Festival consortium with Taste of the West, (Jill Airge) is raising the profile of food and drink. 'There is the Exeter Heart of Devon Hoteliers Association and we work in collaboration with our neighbours'. Taste of the West works with agriculture and the interests of small stakeholders and is linked to food, hotels and outside the region. The importance of a local food celebrity namely Chef Michael Caines, is regarded by many as the *key ambassador for food* (and was featured in an article in the Telegraph on Friday showing how Exeter was beating the recession). The City Council's Tourism Strategy shows plans for future development including festivals, arts and culture which also have a link to food. The region is becoming known for food and the City Council consider that food has put the region 'on the map and is known for quality and standards.' The city is twinned with other cities in

France, Italy, Russia and Germany which provides opportunities to promote local food at fairs and festivals.

The City Council is also working to coordinate the many independent food guides produced in the county. (Kathryn Edwards 08.07.09) These include the Food from Devon website from 2003, and Food from the South Hams, South Devon. Their aim is to have one 'food' website for Devon including Food and Drink Devon. The interest in food also helps with branding both at a regional and county level, for example Exmouth Farmers' Market which is connected to the *Transition Towns*, approximately 12 towns in Devon moving towards a low carbon economy. This includes local food and community groups interested in food. Exmouth has a new brochure planned and is aiming for sponsorship. Coordinated websites and brochures are important tools in tourism marketing and promotional campaigns. This would enable visitors to go to the *Visit Devon* site and then find the food section *Love the Flavour*.

athryn suggested that *Community Supported Agriculture*, linked to (National Lottery) and the local food programme in cooperation with the Soil Association is connected to the food image of Devon and the movement towards organic production and local food sourcing.. It is a project based on a form of community ownership of land and working with farmers. Organic farm land or redundant land is transferred to the community, not for profit. Braggs (A local farming family) at Shillingford are involved. The community is part of the production and share the produce.

#### **5.12.4 Events and Campaigns**

Food events in the county such as the Exeter Food Festival 2009 generate large numbers of visitors (including tourists) with 18,000 visitors over three days, an increase of 4,000 from the 14,000 in 2008. (Val Wilson 09.07.09). (Gerry Bennett 08.07.09), suggested that food is used as a cultural event that has economic benefit. Local celebrity chef Michael Caines from the private sector is considered to be 'the leading light, he has passion and enthusiasm'. (There is now a company for the Food and Drink Festival.) The council suggest that the Exeter festival website gives an insight into the way things are; now we have early evening food for concert events during the festival. The short break market is *foodie* led. Farmers' Markets have evolved and have a great following. We now have a *celebrity culture of food*

and a channel devoted to food and drink. (This has evolved relatively recently from c.2000). Food and Drink is seen a part of the – ‘Exeter Experience with food and drink trails being developed and the Heritage Open days will include restaurants and eating out for the first time in September 2009.’

The City Council and its departments have worked for over a century to promote the city and environs for tourism and the profile of food is considered to be a major part of this activity. It is evident that sophisticated technological developments and celebrification have an important role to play alongside the promotion of features recognisable from earlier guides, a legacy of landscape, heritage, and the provision of good food.

### **5.13 The news media**

Newspapers and magazines are potentially an abundant resource for tourism research. In the twentieth century timescale there are many examples including those that can be classified according to readership or topic. These range from exclusive society journals such as Tatler and Country Life to the mass circulation illustrated papers. The photo-journalism of the mid-century popular press including Picture Post, John Bull, Illustrated and women’s magazines frequently featured stories with a leisure and tourism interest. If the media is reviewed according to the research eras notable examples of tourism, and leisure-related features, social trends and mores may be discovered.

Newspapers and magazines form a valuable archival resource in that editorial, news stories and readers' comments may be used. Table 5.9 shows examples utilised with reference to food and tourism in Devon. It is important to note that readers' letters and advertisements are an important source of period detail in addition to editorial coverage. A benefit of the media is that of topicality, and that many events are reported daily and by season. Particular stories may be followed over a period of time, and they are often supported by photographs. The Trade Press should also be considered as a resource; it has the advantage of providing a perspective from that of commercial provision. Access to recordings and back copies where these do exist on-line can yield a breadth of coverage.

**Table 5.9 News media**

<b>News media/ Example</b>	<b>Editorial</b>	<b>Food</b>	<b>Advertisement</b>	<b>Letter</b>
Daily Herald	√	√		
Times	√		√	√
Western Morning News	√			
Country Life	√			
Picture Post		√		√

Financial Times	√	√		
Farmer's Home	√			
Modern Living	√			
Pathe News Reels	√		√	

Source, author

A benefit of the media is that of topicality, and that many events are reported daily. Particular stories may be followed over a period of time, and they are often supported by photographs. There are limitations which have to be considered, for example which stories are considered newsworthy and whether holidays and tourism might be replaced by other features. It may not always be featured.

Access to records and back copies can yield a breadth of coverage and enables the researcher to embrace the timescale and look at tourism-related events in the broader context of the period. Where these are available on-line they provide rapid access to data.

The trade press presents opportunities for research in that the commercial provision of food and hospitality can be investigated and broader trends identified and explained. For example, the catering trade press would advise caterers regarding trends in healthy eating, presentation, portion control and food safety.

There are limitations with this resource in that the publication may not refer to all sectors of the industry and the geographical focus may not be appropriate.

Tourist Boards and Tourist Information Centres are able to provide archival resources usually in the form of data apposite to the location but statistical data tends to be gathered by the regional offices and the amount of archive sources held is limited.

### **5.13.1 Analysing textual material**

Articles and letters can reveal underlying trends and important social detail. This section now moves on to consider four articles featuring farm holidays, customer service, a cycling holiday and visitor numbers illustrate important stages in the development of tourism. One



does not refer to Devon but discusses developments in farm tourism during the 1930s (which was extremely fashionable in the county at that time) and is pertinent. Three refer to food and the articles span over twenty years of the timescale of the research from 1938 to 1960.

The quest for authenticity is illustrated with the example of farm holidays and is discussed in *Enemy in the farmer's midst*, Countryman's log by John Sussex in the Daily Herald dated 20<sup>th</sup> September 1938. Readers are provided with an interesting and critical observation of a farm holiday. At this time holidays in the countryside were a popular choice for many tourists. The attraction of country life, farms, fresh air and good food had great appeal. Sussex writes about pre-World War Two farm holidays and contrasts the holiday expectations of the hop-picking East-Enders with the demands of middle-class office workers for more sophisticated standards of food and accommodation. The '*hoppers*' idea of a holiday on a farm was suggested as being quite basic, *in their case there won't be much cream and new-laid eggs available*. This pattern continued in the post war period and is described by Winn (1951: pp. 226-7) it is stated that for generations whole streets of East Enders 'evacuated in their entirety' for a holiday with pay in the hop fields of Kent.

Sussex suggests that there is glamour 'about the thought of a holiday on a farm' but that for 'tired office workers' the reality was less than the rural idyll and authentic working farm they may have imagined. Non-working farms, a lack of local produce, and a boarding house atmosphere disappointed the visitor. Sussex comments that, 'townsfolk who find generous farmhouses for their holidays do good to the farmer's causes,' but that it was the bogus farmer who exploited the farm and cheated his holiday visitors.

It is important to note that the Farmer and Stockbreeder recognised the importance of *paying guests* to the farm economy. The supplement titled Farmer's Home for July 27<sup>th</sup> 1936 provided advice for the farmer's wife regarding the provision of hospitality for Summer Guests. They were informed thus, 'they will come again and send their friends if you study the points which make for comfort' these it is suggested included a comfortable bed, ample hot water and farmhouse meals 'usually good, substantial and well cooked.' There is no

direct reference to local produce being used, or recommended. This would appear to support the observations made by Sussex that local produce would be expected.

Nearly fifty years later the Farm Holiday Bureau and the Women's Farming Union were keen to help promote farm holidays in a drive to encourage rural tourism. Described in its 1989 handbook which was also the year of the '*Celebration of British food and farming*' (1989: p. 3) as a network of farming and country people offering a range of high quality accommodation where the visitor can take part in life on a farm. The Women's Farming Union (1989: p.5) were supported by food writer Derek Cooper to continue their promotion of real food and regional cooking. Clarke (1996: p. 611) describes early definitions of farm tourism as being broad in scope and 'comprising all tourism or recreation enterprises located on working farms'. It is important to be aware of the way in which the definitions of farm tourism refer to working farms, which, it is suggested by the 1938 feature, were not always experienced by tourists. At the end of the twentieth century farming has changed dramatically and evidence of diversification and innovation in farm tourism abound. The definition of a working farm might now include a range of activities not previously associated with agriculture. New crops, and methods of production, and the expectations of the consumer have resulted in significant changes to farm tourism although some are paralleled to Sussex's observations.

The resumption of peacetime tourism and the expectations of war-weary tourists are illustrated in Reader's letters in Picture Post of August 1946. The detailed letter titled *A tale of holiday woe* (see appendix x) clearly expresses the disappointments of one family's long waited for holiday. Poor quality *uneatable* food, that left the children ravenous, overpriced food in public restaurants and bad service resulted in the family leaving Paignton early to return to London, spoiling their first post-war holiday which had cost the family £14.14.0. (approximately £1,400 in 2010). Such detail is crucial as it does in some ways explain the attraction of the resort and the expectations of tourists in the 1940s. However, the complaints and criticisms are important as they reveal some of the problems faced by an industry at a time of great adversity.

Women's magazines provided advice for choosing and planning holidays. Devon featured in the January 19<sup>th</sup> 1957 edition of *Woman* (pp. 24-25). A summer holiday is suggested in the travel feature titled *Your dream holiday cycling through the West Country*. The West Country is described as a 'land of rough cider, clotted cream, wild ponies sweeping moors and ancient legends'. The feature emphasised the availability of clotted cream thus, 'but almost every day we had a cream tea!' (it had been unavailable during the years of rationing).

The Western Morning News, Monday July 25<sup>th</sup> 1960 reported an invasion of visitors as, *300,000 visitors pour into Devon and Cornwall*. The report noted that the visitors came by road and rail, but that this had resulted in a queue of cars about 30 miles long. Air transport is mentioned as the regional airports brought in more visitors and it was stated that as the amount of accommodation had been increased there was much to spare. The significance of transport, accommodation and accessibility is interesting as this was a time of increased car ownership and greater mobility for the tourists visiting the county.

Media archives provide access to columns and features over periods of time which enables trends and patterns to be observed. The Times on line and the Financial Times provided extensive coverage of food and tourism related features.

### **5.13.2 Times on-line**

Access to papers dating from 1785 to 1985 provides a wide range of editorial and advertising materials. In the context of the timescale of the research these can be associated with developments in twentieth century tourism, from the inauguration of the first scheduled air service between London and Paris in 1919 to the Development of Tourism Act in 1969.

Most food references are for Devonshire cream, whether appearing as a regional speciality and luxury in cookery columns, advertisements or articles. For example, *Cheaper meals on G.W.R.* (Great Western Railway) 1937 where it was proposed to serve Cornish cream on certain trains running into Cornwall and Devonshire cream on trains terminating in Devon, and, to 'introduce other local dishes where suitable'. It is important that local dishes are mentioned at a time when most commercial outlets were serving standard versions of a hotel repertoire. The English Folk Cookery Association was active in encouraging the revival of local and regional dishes during the 1930s.

Two features from the 1950s are indicative of the post-war interest in food and tourism. In May 1951, after 11 years, restrictions on the sale of cream were lifted, and readers were informed that, 'good old fashioned Devonshire clotted cream will be available at about 10s (50p) a lb (450g)'. For tourists (and the industry in Devon) this marked a return to pre-war hospitality and after a long period of food shortages was synonymous with luxury and holiday treats. The Catering Exhibition at Olympia in January 1952 was opened by the Mr. H. L. d'A Hopkinson, secretary for overseas trade who described the Hotel and Catering Industry as 'one of our greatest dollar earners' and that it was critical that we should attract overseas tourists.

The fiftieth anniversary of the air service to Paris was reported in May 1969 and it was noted that a considerable number of jars of Devonshire cream were included in the inaugural freight of newspapers, leather goods, and grouse.

David Tennant writing in 1969 enthuses over the charms of Devon including the watering places many of which it is suggested have retained much of their earlier elegance. 'Devon cattle, well tended cider orchards and clotted cream and accents that fall with gentle ease on the ear and it is a tourist poster come to life.' It is interesting to note that Tennant draws a comparison between Torquay and Monte Carlo, suggesting that 'Torquay's natural setting can be justly compared to Monte Carlo', at a time when many of the Torquay clientele were flocking to the Mediterranean resorts that Torquay had once substituted for and were now an affordable and accessible reality.

In contrast a 1961 correspondent's letter emphasised the traditions of Devon's pannier markets as tourist attractions with local fresh produce. The experience of buying clotted cream, 'when spooned from a large bowl into a jam jar is somehow more appetizing than when it comes ready packed in tins or cartons.' The revival of markets and farmers' markets supports this observation and interest.

The numerous references to clotted cream, the experience of food in tourism and the advertisements for hotels have great significance. They reflect elements of tradition and continuity and affirm the suggestion that the attraction of food is central to the tourism appeal of the county.

### **5.13.3 Financial Times on-line**

Articles from FT Intelligence dating from 2000 -2009 reveal a growing interest in both food and tourism. Concerns regarding the origin of food, protected labels, traditions associated with food and food production are found in the articles. Wrathall (2009: p. 8) suggests that different forms of niche holidays such as food and wine tourism and scriptotourism might be considered as connected to self-indulgence and self-improvement. The motivations for food-based holidays are complex and should not be generalised as self-indulgent. The enthusiasm for a food-centred holiday may also be connected to health, education and experience or celebration.

There is considerable attention paid to the ubiquitous and iconic cream tea with attention drawn to the demise of the small scale farmhouse creamery due to increased legislation and bureaucracy, (Hopkins 2000: p.13) and its popularity with international tourists.

The tradition of going out to tea as a tourist activity is advocated by Davenport (2005, p5) and it is suggested that tearooms are expected to deliver something extra special. The experience provided by successful tearooms is a balance of 'genteel traditions with modern thinking'. For tourists the experience of tea may range from the sophisticated staged occasion in luxury hotels to traditional farmhouse cream teas and the 'harder to find crab teas on the

beach at Beer in Devon'. The suggestion that tradition can be combined with modern practice is important in the evolution of the hospitality industry and particularly in the enduring popularity of 'going out to tea'.

There is much potential for archival information derived from the media. Whether features regard food and tourism, advertisements or editorial comment, their topicality is important in a time-based investigation.

#### **5.13.4 Cinema, News reels, British Pathe archive**

The newsreel was an important means of animated mass communication used in cinemas until the 1970s. Ultimately short topical films they covered a wide range of subject matter including leisure and holidays. Devon features prominently in this category and the scope of holidays shown extend from the *select resort* to a self-catering railway coach. Titles featured include *Glorious Devon*, 1932, *John Farrington, Dartmoor*, 1930, *Queen of the English Riviera*, 1933, and *Winter in Torquay* 1932 in which the resort is compared with Cannes and Nice. Two post-war productions reveal something of austerity holidays. *Land Army in Torquay*, 1946, depicts land girls enjoying the south Devon coast and a seaside picnic tea whilst *Camping Coach*, 1948, presents the story of a family relaxing on a self-catering holiday in a stationary railway coach.

The newsreels are an important resource as they contain much that is topical, educational and entertaining. They are in addition, a valuable visual social history resource. It is interesting to observe the way in which Devon is portrayed as a tourist resort and to witness tourist activity over a long period. Aspects of landscape (usually represented as picturesque and romantic), heritage and climate are frequently used as a backdrop to the leisure and social activities provided. Food is featured occasionally as a shared meal or through scenes of harvest fields and orchards associated with the county.

The images portrayed (sometimes in colour) complement those featured in guidebooks and postcards and reinforce stereotypical images of the county as rural, and steeped in heritage

and history. Furthermore these were used in short travelogues produced by the British Travel Association. That the digital news archive is available on line enables the researcher to access a unique source of data, covering 75 years, one of mass consumption given that UK cinema audiences peaked in 1946 with 1,63500 admissions (Phil Wickham, BFI).

#### **5.14 Mass Observation**

Mass Observation holds an important archive of reports and diaries dating from 1937. Many of these contain data pertaining to holidays and leisure. File reports and bulletins describe holiday trends and patterns in national terms but it is the diarists and day respondents who provide the intimate and personal records. Important details of leisure activities and holidays are found alongside the accounts of work and daily life. A limited number of entries regarding food and tourism in Devon indicate tourism trends at a time of great adversity.

Three entries record details of holidays in Devon during the Second World War (1939-45) and illustrate the impact of a world war on Devon's tourism. However the earliest record is from the report compiled for Sunday September 12<sup>th</sup> 1937 in which day respondent number 287 (Male age 20) writes:

‘St Marychurch, Torquay. 4.20 stopped under some trees for tea, which proved to be a wet and soggy meal. Devonshire cream is nice enough but is not an adequate or even suitable antidote to rain. 4.40 returned home.’

The wartime entries date from August 1940. Day respondent 5039 (Male age 39) writes in August 1940:

‘We have been enjoying beautiful weather this week and had times been normal I should now be visiting Devon or Cornwall. I spent my best holiday ever in Devon last year and just managed to get it before war started. Before I went only keep thinking that war might come. I remember saying we'll have a look at Devon before it gets bombed to bits.’

Diarist 5089 (Male, age 25) writing on September 7<sup>th</sup> 1940:

‘Caught 1.30 train from Paddington to Paignton, countryside looking very pleasant and peaceful – Newton Abbot station bombed. Later it is noted that ‘on the way back after tennis went into (Deller’s?) Café and after tea walked to Cockington. Sat in the beautiful grounds and talked, then to the Drum Inn for a drink.’

A war diary for 17th July 1941 written by diarist 5039 (Male) in Lancashire notes that there were long queues for fruit and vegetables, and that one of the diarist’s work girls ‘has just returned from a holiday in Plymouth. Plymouth it seems is right in the front line. She wanted to see her aunt.’

What these entries reveal about tourism and food at this period 1937-1941 is interesting in that each account records the significance of a domestic holiday, even during a period of restricted travel. Two entries note the beautiful scenery and the perception of Devon as a holiday destination and two refer to food, Devonshire cream and tea at the café in Paignton.

These are not the accounts of expensive holidays. They are the details of the ordinary, and are perhaps typical of the period appearing almost frugal, yet the content provides a powerful impression of Devon as a holiday destination. The records of Mass Observation diaries and the reports it produced are significant in that they provide details of holidays at a time of great adversity.

### **5.15 Using archival research to identify change in food provision**

Change is not always discernible until viewed over a period of time. The use of archival research enables changes to be identified. An advantage of incorporating a longitudinal dimension to the research allows the past to be investigated in a particular context, in this case tourism. As respondents often refer to specific and popular locations such as resorts



during different eras of the timescale it is possible to identify points at which certain foods or establishments are introduced, or demise.

During the early stages of the research, field work was conducted in the Cathedral Yard, Exeter (a major tourist destination and thoroughfare in the city centre) in order to determine changes in the provision of food through the twentieth century timescale. Table 5.10 shows how the number and range of establishments has evolved. A location close to the Cathedral is a major advantage for business and naturally attracts large numbers of visitors. From the early part of the century the establishments provided food that would have probably appealed to tourists and the visiting public. Advertisements in period guidebooks and directories, and postcards routinely refer to this location. The outlets featured show that it is cafes and hotels that prosper (with just one hotel, The Royal Clarence since the Second World War) but that these do change over time. Although quintessential tea shops and cafes feature in each era, changing tastes are represented as global, fusion and niche cuisines appear in the later eras. Each era appears to possess its culinary terminology and language, therefore the soda fountains and waffle bars and cafeterias are associated with the period up to the mid-twentieth century but the last quarter of the century reflects the globalisation of tastes and trends in the hospitality industry. Current provision includes relatively expensive and specialised outlets in addition to cafes and popular themed chains.

**Table 5.10 Food outlets, Cathedral Yard Exeter**

Era 1	2	3	4	5
1900 – 1914	> 1939	> 1969	>1989	>2000+

Royal Clarence Globe Hotel Deller's Murch & Goff	Royal Clarence Globe Hotel Tinley's Mocha Café	Royal Clarence Tinley's Mocha Cafe Duffil's Nicholsons Tudor Rose	Royal Clarence Tinley's Nicholson's	Royal Clarence – Abode Café Bar Well House Tea on the Green (Hansons) 21 Thai Orchid ASK Pizza Express El Fahid The Plant Cathedral Refectory 6cafes 1 hotel  6 cafes 1 'bar' 4 restaurants
2 hotels 2 cafes	2 hotels 2 cafes	1 hotel 5 cafes (includes 1 Restaurant for evening meals)	1 hotel 1 café 1 café/restaurant	
4	4	6	3	11

Source, author

(Sources, Besley's Directory, 1909, 1912, 1913, 1931, 1936 and Wheaton's 1905 Directory Exeter)

Table 5.10 illustrates the growth in food outlets through the timescale. This is an indication of consumption patterns and trends. Eras 1 and 2 show four outlets comprising two hotels one confectioner and café, and one café. The cafes in era two reflect changes in informal daytime eating out, as a snack bar and waffle bar are identified. Both hotels advertised accommodation and food. At the end of era two the Cathedral Close would have been mainly a daytime location with evening hospitality provided by the hotels. By the late 1960s only one hotel remained and was open to non-residents for lunches, afternoon teas, dinners and functions. (The Globe Hotel was destroyed in 1942) and a small restaurant open during the evening appeared. The trend for daytime eating out (morning coffee, lunches and afternoon teas) dominated. Following certain building alterations in the 1960s there was an expansion of food outlets in the 1980s economic boom. These represent a more adventurous and eclectic taste stimulated in part by travel abroad and a greater penchant for eating out during the day and evening.

## **5.16 Conclusions**

Using a mixed method approach does confer certain advantages, enabling a combination of data sources to be utilised. The significance of archival research became apparent during the data collection process. The archival resources contributed to a longitudinal study, and came from a variety of sources adding to their diversity and value. For example, archival sources may be used to establish accuracy, and to verify claims and detail recalled during the interview process. The archival resources used in this research constituted a subject, space and time (twentieth century) specific collection. They were important in developing an understanding of the evolution of relationships between food and tourism, distinguishing what is implied as food for tourists. Eating away from home in another environment gives individuals the opportunity to eat different foods, in different situations its evolution is enhanced through archival research.

### **5.16.1 The pilot research, food provision and archival research**

The pilot research conducted in June 2008 revealed possibilities for identifying change in the provision of food through the timescale. The questionnaire targeted a group who were asked

to share their memories of Devon as a tourist, and to indicate the foods associated with their holidays according to the periods at which they had visited. The earliest holiday was recorded as the 1930s. The pilot interview and questionnaires were early indications of the potential use of archival resources as both stimulated memories and the recall of earlier tourism experiences.

Archival research has provided many examples of the evolving relationships between food and tourism. As each archival resource spans the timescale (or part of it) of the research they enable a detailed progression to be investigated. Postcards, news media, guidebooks and directories provided text and images from which to observe the evolutionary processes of tourism, leisure and food consumption. For example, with guidebooks and directories the span of a century shows how these have changed in format from what appeared to be historical reference books to online, interactive retail guides including references to the legacy of heritage.

It is vital to consider, too, how many of the archival resources have become elevated to the status of postmodern commodities. Urry (1990: p. 107) suggests that the rapid de-industrialisation of Britain in the 1970s may have contributed to a 'sense of loss' and nostalgia for a way of life that tourism sought in many ways to regenerate. It is possible that this process has stimulated an interest in the past and an industrial heritage which includes tourism.

The sale of postcards, photographs and mementos that earlier in their existence were purchased, or given as souvenirs and tokens, represents an interesting stage in the life cycle of the product. Now sold at antiques fairs and markets (and on-line) many of these items have been transformed into a specialised genre of nostalgic tourism ephemera regarded as marketable and desirable commodities, prized by collectors for their rarity and aesthetic values.

#### **5.16.2 The evolving emphasis of food and tourism.**

The archival materials represent wider changes in diet and the associated interests in food, health, ethical, environmental and green issues. From the early twentieth century guidebooks which referred to the health-giving properties of the pure water and air quality in addition to

sport and recreational facilities, to the twenty-first century interests in fitness and wellbeing, changes can be observed.

Health concerns, whether the benefits of fresh air and sunlight of the earlier eras of the timescale, to the current holistic and dietary anxieties, may be linked to food. Thus food can be presented as a luxury and indulgence, something special, a holiday treat and as contributing to good health, learning experience and well-being. In the early decades of the timescale the motivation of health was linked to the quality of the food in the county whereas by the end of the twentieth century the excellence of the food is linked to gastronomy and the experience of dining.

A transformation in the attention to quality, source of food, and its traceability is discerned through the guidebooks. In earlier editions where food is mentioned it tends to evoke an interest and curiosity in its traditions, as in the manufacture of clotted cream which was suggested as originating from the time of trade with the Phoenicians. There is frequently an assumption of wholesomeness linked to the region's food which is apparent in many of the advertisements. The source of food is sometimes acknowledged as *local*, or *from our farm* but it not until the turn of the twentieth century that this becomes a matter of provenance and linked to the gastronomic identity of the county.

It is imperative to note the importance of the routine and the mundane in tourism, and the way in which this can be connected to food. Towner's suggestion that these are often overlooked in the history of tourism suggests that everyday and routine events, including food, should not be overlooked and that they are indeed significant. In the context of food the routine or standard menu offered to tourists shows how change can be considered over a period of time. Items that might now be regarded as the somewhat mundane and everyday fare featured in the early postcards and guide books form a record of the food presented to tourists as typical, traditional and authentic at a particular point in time. This is in contrast to the comparatively exclusive and sophisticated food that emerged during the late twentieth century and the images of which are found in much of the tourist literature.

### **5.16.3 The evolving relationships between food and tourism**

Although the relationship between food and the tourism experience appears to be generic and integral to tourism per se, it is apparent from many of the archival resources that it may differ according to geographical location. Whether farm, coastal resort or urban setting, the opportunities for food consumption are considerable and do change over time.

In a rural area such as Devon connections between food production and provenance extend beyond the brochure and menu terminology to be experienced at the place and point of production, whether farm, vineyard, or farmers' market. Consumption in cities tends to be more rushed, transient and cosmopolitan as opposed to the slower pace of the country. This is illustrated in the guidebooks where the advantages of the country are often presented as references to location, scenery, climate, history, landscape and food. In the past, rural areas were sometimes regarded as lagging behind *London* in terms of choice and the latest food trends. At the beginning of the twenty-first century Devon offers a wide range of contemporary and Michelin star food experiences with the advantage that many of the foods consumed are able to be connected with the countryside and their source of production.

The importance of secondary data and the richness of archival data in supporting and enhancing the propositions of the thesis cannot be ignored. Forms of secondary data become major resources as shown in the use of postcards, photograph albums, photo-journals, ephemera and guidebooks which have provided countless examples of an enduring, yet evolving interest in food and tourism in Devon. Images of food ranging from seaside picnics, the ubiquitous cream tea to the innovative Michelin star creations of the county's chefs substantiate the long century evolution of the food presented to the tourist.

The archival resources for tourism are diverse, frequently dispersed, and sometimes elusive. Some items may be in the public domain and accessible, whereas others are found in the private domain or are possibly accessible on-line. An archive is a collection of records and materials, and as such may grow and develop. In researching tourism the potential for

archival exploration is great and includes transport, accommodation, tourist activities, geography and food. Thus the search for apposite materials is extensive, however the location and evolution of archival data collections is an important consideration.

The diversity of archival resources is a major strength as many sources can be combined and utilised. For example, a guidebook or directory may be supported by the use of other contemporary or contrasting materials such as photographs, postcard messages, ephemera, diaries or holiday journals which may refer to the text.

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Archives appropriate to tourism do in many ways complement the complexity of a service industry that according to Shaw and Williams (2002: p.111) is a tourism production system including resources and infrastructures. However, the fact that within an archive one resource such as postcards is classified according to place and not according to tourism or food represents time consuming searches in order to locate items of interest. Entire collections such as the Francis Frith, Chapman, or British Pathe archives might have to be searched in order to locate images connecting food, tourism and Devon.

Archival research provides a variety of opportunities from which the evolution of tourism can be studied, ranging from the commercial guidebook and publication to the personal images and records of the tourist. Archival data collection and analysis is important in qualitative research as it enables the interviews to be connected to a location such as Devon when used as a case study.

The use of archival investigation is an important component of mixed method research. Qualitative data collection through interviews is supported and enhanced by the data derived from archival sources. In a study which looks at a topic over a long timescale archival resources are invaluable in identifying and investigating continuity, change and evolution.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Holiday recollections and memories**

#### **6.1 Introduction and background to the chapter**

Chapter 5 presented results from the analysis of a wide range of archival resources. These spanned the timescale of the research indicating that interests in food and tourism had indeed evolved through the twentieth century and were multifaceted. As an example *health* featured frequently and this was sometimes linked to specific diseases such as tuberculosis, and also food, exercise, climate and the purity of air. Black (c1890: pp.7-9) describes Torquay as a resort for health, its climate and geography. This was often associated with the seaside, and in Devon with its advantage of a picturesque rural hinterland and moor juxtaposed between the contrasting north and south coastal resorts. Gray (2006: p. 110) uses the examples of Torquay and its neighbouring resorts to describe the attractions of the mild climate and lush vegetation, while Shaw and Williams (1997: p. 44) described the ‘socially exclusive resorts of South Devon’ as successful smaller resorts ‘on their own terms’. It is, perhaps, a characteristic of Devon’s resorts that has contributed to their popularity throughout the timescale. Equally where *food* was mentioned its facets ranged from heritage, aesthetics, luxury, tradition and folklore to nutrition and its healthy qualities. Thus Devon is presented as a destination with advantages of a varied landscape, mild climate, good food and wide choice of resorts including the popular and exclusive.

The aim of this chapter is to expand the presentation and analysis of the qualitative research presented in Chapter 5 by linking it to data collected through the use of questionnaires and interviews. The results of these will be utilised in the analysis of information and recollections provided by tourists and those involved in the provision of food for them. The chapter focuses on research objectives 2, 3, and 4 principally to show how tourists’ interests and relationships with food have evolved through the timescale.

A combination of 248 open text responses, from the questionnaires, and 33 in-depth interviews provided a significant amount of data for analysis. These were preceded by pilot studies which



affirmed the significance and suitability of longitudinal personal memories and reminiscences in tourism research.

This chapter presents the results of the qualitative research process and use of oral histories in the context of tourism. These were derived from the experiences of tourists, and those engaged in the provision of their food. The recording of personal recollections through in-depth interviews and data collection will be used to demonstrate stages in the evolutionary relationship between food and tourism. The identification of change, factors affecting change and trends in the provision of food will be presented in the context of the food and tourism relationship.

The analysis of the data is presented firstly by discussing the results from the on-line questionnaires and secondly the in-depth interviews. Together these will be used to address the objectives of the research. These intend to provide an overview of the twentieth century development of tourism in Devon, identify past and current provision of food for tourists, explain trends and patterns in the provision of food for tourists over time, and ultimately begin to explain the evolving relationships between food and tourism.

The chapter concludes with a summary of the major themes identified through the analysis of the data and their significance in relation to Devon which forms the geographical focus of the case study. This will be examined in chapter 7.

## **6.2 The analysis tools**

.This research has used a combination of archival sources with questionnaires and personal interviews. As one of the aims of the thesis is to study the evolution of a relationship over an extended period, a timescale of a long century, it has a significant longitudinal focus. Ritchie (2005: pp. 133-4) indicates that the collection of longitudinal data over several time periods (and in this instance a long century) is time and labour-intensive but that it can provide a level of 'in-depth understanding and uniquely valuable legacy'. This is developed by Strain (2002: p. 217) who states that gerontologists and leisure researchers share a long-standing interest in leisure participation in 'later life' which includes eating out (food) and tourism activities. This was highlighted in several interviews where participation in leisure and tourism extended through the respondents' life cycle, and in several instances well into their 90s.

Early in the analysis process the significance of memory in the interview procedure was apparent with repeated use of phrases such as; ‘I remember, these are the memories of childhood, this takes me back’, and similar terms related to memory as a prelude to an important episode or event. Small (pp. 267-8) asserts that it is the paradigm of the researcher that ‘determines the appropriateness of memory work for a research topic’. Memory work, it is suggested, is concerned with emergent themes and allows the participants the opportunity to discuss and share ‘personal lived experiences’. The significance of memories in research and the identification of a reminiscence bump whereby respondents recall a large number of events from the second and third decades of their life is important in autobiographical research, (Gluck and Bluck 2007, Wing Sun Tung and Brent Ritchie 2011). It is suggested that there are three major components of autobiographical memories, lifetime events, general events and event specific knowledge, (ESK). The so-called reminiscence bump occurs when individuals recall a number of (positive) life experiences between the ages of 10 and 30 more than any other period, (Wing Sun Tung and Brent Ritchie 2011: p.333). This is significant as the demographics of the respondents show that 62.5% are aged over 55 (see tables 4.20, 4. 21 Chapter 4). It is the older adults’ age range when the reminiscence bump is most prevalent. The tourist experience is generally related to pleasant events in autobiographical memory. White (2002: pp.608-610) proposes that pleasant events in autobiographical memory are often recalled in more depth than unpleasant ones. These are important considerations in the collection and analysis of autobiographical experiences and memories.

Extending the use of content analysis in mixed method qualitative research is an appropriate means of utilising oral histories. Analysis reveals memories and themes which may then identify significant episodes in individuals’ life and work histories.

### **6.3 The use of narrative**

The content of the interviews is a complex mixture of personal stories, life histories, anecdotes, recollections and memories sometimes shared for the first time, or in a very long period of time, with the interviewer. Therefore it is important for the interviewer to establish an appropriate rapport with the interviewee to encourage a meaningful dialogue. In some cases the respondents were contacted on more than one occasion. Most of the respondents were keen to share their experiences, however it was noted that in some interviews with those in industry there was a reluctance to engage in dialogue further than a direct answer to the question. Constraints of time and privacy are a major consideration in the interview process. Parker (1999: p.178) suggests that the narrative is important in ethnographic research as it often provides a glimpse of a private world.

#### **6.3.1 Interviews and oral histories**

The aims of oral histories and the interview process are to research tourism through a timescale, and in a specified geographical area, drawing on living memory and experiences. In many ways the holiday interviews are a means of recording the discourse of an aspect of twentieth century social history, leisure. It is in effect through the recording (and recounting) of holiday experiences that the interviewer is privileged to share in the intimate, personal and everyday details of individuals' holiday experiences. The interview has in some cases the benefit of recording regional stories, dialect and customs and the details of an industry.

The process of the interview (formally and informally) stimulates memories and discussions and may be conducted on an individual or group basis. The interviews are an important record as they focus on a specific activity and location and also reveal data regarding the changing role of the holiday through time and in the life cycle of the individual. Recording recollections of the past enables the researcher to unlock memories and to look at these in the context of the individual and the topic. For example, in tourism an individual account of a holiday may show the experience of a particular family, and social

class, at a specific time and at a specific destination. Subsequently this detail can be compared to that of others and trends and patterns distinguished.

These holiday memories are then investigated to find out about the experience of food in the context of leisure. Food is an evocative topic and its discussion prompts many memories. These include those stimulated by the senses such as colours, tastes, flavours, aromas, and textures of food. Many foods associated with holidays were recalled with references to memorable aromas, colours and flavours. Comments such as; 'I can taste it now,' or 'cream with a golden crust on it', were regularly heard during the interview process.

Food is also a marker of identity and social class and is sometimes mentioned by respondents. Mennell (1985: p. 326) asserts that although 'eating out is still related to class and income' this is less so than it was and that the social stratification of eating places is more blurred in the late twentieth century. This is an important consideration in tourism as the practice, pattern and opportunities for eating out on holiday have become more clearly defined if not commonplace. It is important to note that food is consumed for pleasure and status and is also a memento of a particular experience, and something special. These factors are appropriate to the experience of tourism and their origins in this context have a long history. Spang (2000: p. 202) indicates that the pleasure and privilege in gastronomy dated from the time following the French revolution when restaurants were opened to all citizens and that France had exported the ideas of cookery and nationality to others. In terms of tourism, eating out and food for pleasure was associated with the destination, whether in the form of meals in a guest house or hotel, tea shops and souvenirs.

In addressing food and tourism through an extended timescale of the twentieth century it is perhaps inevitable that food will be described nostalgically. The long history of food production in Devon presents many opportunities for the stimulation of food and tourism memories as the farm and countryside are popular destinations. Food, whether its production or processing, is consequently, presented as an aspect of local and national heritage. In a county famed for its agriculture, its produce (dairy, livestock and fruit and vegetables) is portrayed as a local larder waiting to be sampled. Local, small-scale and artisan production of food is presented in contrast to large-scale globalised production which emphasises the rural characteristics of the county.

The experience of eating out and away from home and the consumption of unusual and different food whilst on holiday is an important aspect of the holiday experience. By definition tourism takes individuals away from their daily routine, and on holiday food becomes an event, an opportunity to experience the new and different. Although for some the experience of familiar and known is important, the quest for local and authentic foods whilst on holiday is for some a motivation to visit a particular destination. Walton (2000: p. 95) describes food as one of the seaside pleasures and that items associated with the seaside and holidays, for example ice creams, spun sugar candyfloss and local sea foods, contributed to the aspect of ‘otherness’ and the experience of tourism. This can also be translated into the otherness of rural areas with the country offering the tourist specific food encounters, for example farm shops, and farmhouse accommodation.

#### **6. 4 The respondents**

The respondents interviewed in the research were identified as tourists or those with an involvement in the industry, or allied to tourism. These are identified in table 6.1. The sample included those involved with the production of food such as farmers and producers of products that target tourists (for example ice cream and clotted cream fudge) and those in the hospitality sector (restaurateurs, chefs and hotel proprietors).

A major feature of the interviews is the utilisation of memories, often individual and occasionally collective. In some instances the respondent recalled events that were recent and fresh such as the latest holiday and food experience but on many occasions episodes from the relatively distant past were communicated. On many occasions these were recounted with great clarity and detail and it was suggested by one respondent that the interview (and its topic) had prompted her to recall events and minutiae she *hadn't thought about for years*, Diana.

**Table 6.1 Key respondents: supply (producers)**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Era*</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>
1 Frank	M	<b>63</b>	<b>1930-2009</b>	Family business
2 Ruth	F	<b>50</b>	<b>2000+</b>	Hotelier
3 Elise	F	<b>45</b>	<b>1990-2009</b>	Cheese maker
4 Aviva	F	<b>35</b>	<b>2008-2009</b>	Director, tourism
5 Tony	M	<b>70</b>	<b>1930-2009</b>	Farmer, broadcaster
6 Robin	M	<b>60</b>	<b>2000-2009</b>	Farm holidays/accommodation

7 Marie	F	54	1975-2009	Purchasing director
8 Gloria	F	57	1982/4	Baker/tourist
9 Gillian	F	40	1990-2009	Administrator
10 Laura	F	25	2005-2009	Cheese and wine producer
11 Sara	F	60	1975-2009	Writer, cook & food historian
12 Andy	M	50	1980-2009	Hotelier
13 Julien	M	41	1995-2010	Hotel manager
14 Eileen	F	88	1948-1953	Hotelier
15 John	M	53	1940-1970	Farm holidays
16 Shaun	M	60	1975-2010	Chef, writer
17 Tom	M	60	1965-2009	Food writer, restaurateur
18 Diana	F	95	1928-1932	Family business
19 Rosemary	F	55	1970-2009	Food writer
20 Sarah	F	35	2000+	Publican/restaurateur

**Key respondents: demand (tourists)**

21 Rosalie	F	76	1970s	Tourist, now resident
22 Daphne	F	92	1920s	“ “ “ Farm holiday
23 Diana-Mary	F	84	1920s/30s	“ “ “ Caravan
24 Talbot	M	92	1920s	“ “ “ Resort
25 Pauline	F	80	1970s/80s	“ “ “ Fishing
26 Jan	F	50	1980s/90s	Tourist
27 Charlotte	F	55	1990s	Diving instructor, tourist
28 Richard	M	70	1950s	Tourist - touring
29 Sheena	F	50	1960s/70s 2008	Tourist, nostalgia, memories
30 Penny	F	55	1960s	Tourist, farm holidays
31 Caroline	F	55	1950s/80s	Self-catering

32 Margaret	F	55	1950s/60s	Caravan holiday
33 Joan	F	82	1930s	Exmouth, small hotel

Source, author \* Principal research eras covered during the interviews

## 6. 5 The significance of open ended questions

Open ended questions encouraged and enabled respondents to give detailed and sometimes personal answers. The quotations are derived from the questionnaires, and although providing much valuable data these sometimes lack the profundity of those provided by the personal in-depth interview. As the research aims to find out more about tourists' relationships with food and ways in which these have evolved they are important. Question 4 aimed to find out if food was regarded as an attraction; if so were there particular foods and food-related occasions and opportunities associated with the county? Do tourists associate food with place?

**Question 4, Did food attract you to Devon? If yes please state how. If no please state why.**

The attraction of food was sometimes stated as being a specific attraction, for example:

‘Yes, especially the individual restaurants which produced exceptional quality or that food was always an attraction and B&B Bed and Breakfast was always good value. ‘

These provide valuable but concise data and together help to create a picture of the foods consumed on holiday.

However the importance of such recollections was demonstrated in the detail provided in the most extensive reply:

‘....My grandma’s **apple dumplings**, the **splits** from the baker over the road which we ate on the beach with **home-made raspberry jam** and **cream** with a golden crust on it, **Dough cake** from the same baker, Joe Denner’s **ice-cream** in Cullompton – home made with chips of ice, real cream and raspberry essence, the annual treat of **fish and chips**, sometimes in Exmouth and sometimes in Cullompton depending which was reckoned best that year. Lovely slippery **junket** with **honey** on it.’

In one short paragraph an extremely evocative account of food is clearly established, forming an important part of the respondent’s tourism experience. While the narrative recalls popular local and holiday foods such as apple dumplings, junket, splits, dough cake, clotted cream, and ice cream (some of which appear to have been prepared by members of the extended family) these are portrayed in the context of an annual holiday, in an earlier time. The richness of detail provided in this response supported the choice of qualitative data and the use of personal interviews as an effective means of finding out how food had featured in the holiday.

There were responses that linked food to the attraction of Devon, typically, ‘yes-we associate Devon with fresh food’ or that Devon was associated with food production, as in; ‘the idea of it being a farming and fishing area with fresh local produce’. These suggest that Devon is perceived as producing, and providing, good food.

The most frequent response confirmed the enduring popularity of the cream tea and clotted cream. Responses ranging from, ‘Devon cream teas! But this was not the sole purpose for our visit,’ and, ‘Cream teas are always an incentive to visit Devon’ or, ‘Always looking for a good cream tea’. In spite of its UK ubiquity it remains a meal and occasion associated with the county and the summer holiday.

It is important to note many of the responses included references to the landscape, scenery, and climate of the county. These reinforce the enduring appeal and attraction of place and that food often enhanced and added value to the experience. Examples such as:

‘.....the scenery was the main attraction, the food was a bonus or No, the location, its environment and its history was the attraction, and No, we went for the sun, sea and fresh air....’



- occurred frequently but were later supported by answers that indicated an interest in food. Many answers were couched in terms that suggested an underlying interest in food, for example:

‘.....no – food was not reason for choosing Devon – but do try to buy local produce when on holiday and no, it is part of God’s own country and the food is part of the attraction.’

If food was not considered by some respondents to be a major motivation or attraction it was shown to feature prominently in other ways as an activity and as a souvenir. This suggested that food nonetheless played a significant role in the holiday and was regarded as an important and integral component of the overall experience.

Question 6 gave respondents an opportunity to describe the foods and related products purchased as souvenirs and gifts whilst on holiday. Clotted cream and confectionery two popular items long associated with the county, were included as prompts.

**Question 6, Did you take home any foods as souvenirs, if yes please state which such as clotted cream or confectionery.**

Clotted cream featured most frequently, often listed with fudge, cider, confectionery and biscuits. Many of these items have been staple souvenirs for the greater part of the timescale. However it is evident that the scope of souvenir foods was extensive and was subject to change over time. In the earlier decades of the timescale up to the 1960s and 70s souvenir foods appear to be limited to cream by post, and confectionery. By the end of the twentieth century a more adventurous range of foods was being taken home, possibly encouraged by processing and packaging for example vacuum-packed meats. The products identified are also indicative of the growing interest in food and its associations with Devon. In total a wide variety of 19 food items were listed which ranged from fudge to salted cod. Table 6.1 shows the foods identified as souvenirs. The popularity of clotted cream and confectionery appears to be undiminished and features throughout the timescale of the research, however it is important to note how the scope and range of food souvenirs has increased.

Table 6.2 Food as a souvenir

Item	Responses	Comment
Clotted cream	98 29.8%	Can still be ' <i>sent by post</i> '
'Devon' Fudge	70 21.3	Associated with the county by the addition of its dairy products (clotted cream and butter). Fudge originated in America
Confectionery	42 12.8	Seaside rock, toffees
Cider	29 8.8	Linked to farming and the orchard landscape
Fish	6 1.8	Caught as an activity or bought from markets
Cheese	13 3.9	Artisan-produced and Cheddars
Biscuits	19 5.7	'Factory' and artisan
Honey	7 2.1	Local production apiaries
Meat, sausages, pies	6 1.8	Local farms, farmers' markets
Pasties	9 2.7	Local bakery
Fruit/vegetables	4 1.2	'PYO', markets
Wine	2 0.6	Local vineyards
Real Ale	2 0.6	Local brewery

Jam	4 1.2	Farmers' markets
Chutney	4 1.2	Farmers' markets
Scones/cakes	9 2.7	Local artisan bakers/confectioners
Salt Cod	1 0.3	Once a staple form of fish in rural communities
Eggs	2 0.6	Free-range, farm
Butter	1 0.3	Farm
Total responses	<b>328 <math>\Sigma</math> 100</b>	

Source, on-line questionnaire

N= 248

37 out of 328 responses stated that a combination of clotted cream and fudge was taken home as a souvenir, and in most cases multiple food products were purchased. 38 respondents replied that they did not take home food as a souvenir. The terms local, farm produce and Devon were sometimes used emphasising the connection between food product and place for example:

‘... usually clotted cream, not the mass-produced sort, or Fudge and cider, again usually farm scrumpy not often available in shops, and, local speciality cheeses, biscuits and cakes made in Devon, locally made biscuits, and sausages from a butcher in a village in the middle of Dartmoor.’

It is interesting to note that methods of production were identified in the selection of food. For example, *not* the mass-produced sort, farm *scrumpy* (*scrumpy* is a vernacular term for farm cider) *not* the type available in shops, and local produce indicating a demand for produce from the region, not mass-produced or imported items.

Question 3 suggested that food-related activities may have been included in the tourism experience identifying three topical activities as prompts. The county show had been identified as a food related activity but the *food festival* was not mentioned. The activities are shown in table 6.2.

**Question 3, During your holiday did you visit any food festivals, farm shops or farmer's markets? Please state which.**

Three respondents suggested that such activities did not feature prominently earlier in the timescale (probably the 1950s and 60s), stating 'No don't think they had them in the 50s,' 'We'd only just finished rationing', or 'They didn't have them then' and 'no, wasn't aware of such attractions at the time'. Such comments are interesting and may be indicative of the level of interest in food at a particular time as some of the pannier markets, fish markets, Pick-your-Own (fruit) and county shows identified in the text responses were functioning throughout the timescale. The 14 activities identified and shown in Table 6.2 demonstrate how the interest in food has evolved. From the traditional and long established local pannier markets to the organic field kitchen, canteen and farm shop the production and purchase of food is recognised as a tourist activity and attraction. The field kitchen and canteen experience arguably connects consumers (and tourists) to the place, methods of production, lifestyle experience and, ultimately consumption.

Shopping for food appears to play a significant part in the holiday experience which is regarded as significant in retail tourism. Jansen-Verbeke (1991: p. 9) describes shopping as a leisure experience suggesting that leisure shopping can be considered as a tourism resource, attraction and activity. Getz (1993: p. 15) describes the evolution of shopping as a leisure pursuit in terms of it being at one time 'a daily routine far removed from leisure' to its status as a leisure activity. It is important to appreciate the evolution of tourism shopping and food shopping as a significant stage in the development of the experience economy.

Yuksel (2004: p. 751) indicates the importance of shopping as a tourist activity suggesting that it extends 'beyond functional utility and task orientation and provides other experiential benefits'. Respondents' answers reflected the importance of shopping as a leisure activity which was subsequently extended to foodstuffs, place and activity. Food in this context proved to be both attraction and motivation and can be connected to the outlets such as markets and farm shops, themselves an attraction for many tourists.

Table 6.3 Food-related tourist activities

Activity/Outlet	Responses	Comment
<b>Farm shop</b>	57 49.5%	Country/rural outlet
<b>Farmers' Market</b>	18 15.6	Country/town
<b>Trout farm</b>	1 0.86	Specialist production
<b>Pannier market</b>	1 0.86	Barnstaple
<b>County Show</b>	3 2.60	Annual event including food
<b>'Canteen'</b>	1 0.86	Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall
<b>Market</b>	17 14.78	Local such as Tiverton/Barnstaple
<b>Fish market</b>	1 0.86	Brixham
<b>Fish Quays</b>	2 1.73	Plymouth
<b>Widcombe Fair</b>	1 0.86	Annual event and tourist attraction
<b>Cheese shop</b>	2 1.73	Tavistock
<b>'Deli'</b>	3 2.60	
<b>Beer festival</b>	1 0.86	Real ale

<b>PYO</b>	1	0.86	Fruit/vegetables
<b>Winery</b>	2	1.73	Sharpham
<b>Vineyard</b>	1	0.86	
<b>Food festival</b>	3	2.60	County/rural events
<b>Total responses</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>Σ 100</b>	

Source, on-line questionnaire n=248

The farm shop suggests that with the popularity of self-catering and holiday cottages it might serve as a local shop and source of local produce to take home as souvenirs. It is significant that the relationship between food, tourism and farming is identified as 8 out of the 14 activities are closely allied to farming, and that the word farm is used three times.

The *Canteen* is a relatively recent commercial food phenomenon and is part of an organic food experience where consumers are connected to the land, farming and food production. The food can be consumed at the point of production as a shared meal. Riverford, an organic farm and shop close to Totnes in South Devon, runs a *field kitchen* where meals are provided on a similar basis and eaten communally, not in conventional restaurant style. Elements of the experience possibly sampled on holiday can be taken home through purchasing vegetable boxes or other products on line. The canteen and field kitchen represent an innovative food experience, a culinary contrast to the conventional restaurant.

Such food related events as shown in table 6.2 mark a significant development in the interest in food and its production and that this may form part of the tourism experience. The farm shop, food festival and farmers' market represent a stage in the evolving relationship with food, and evidently food and tourism. Conversely in a time-based study it is important to note that the traditional markets, fish quays and Widecombe Fair were also identified as attractions. These have fascinated tourists for generations; Murray's handbook for Devon and Cornwall 1859 (p. 145) advises readers that in Barnstaple (where there is a famous pannier market); Lady Fanshawe writing in the seventeenth century described the town as one of the finest in England and that:

‘...they have, near this town a fruit called the massard, like a cherry, but different in taste which makes the best pies with their sort of cream I ever eat’

These are important references and are indicative of the enduring and evolving interest in local and traditional foods.

Question 7 (Likert scale) asked respondents to identify and grade, from very good to very bad, a selection of foods associated with Devon. These are shown in table 6.3 and were derived from guidebooks and tourist literature, for example the 1988 RAC Food Routes (pp. 198-199) in which the southwest is described as largely rural and ‘the fertile soil of Devon’s red land yields wheat, barley and apples, and the cattle feed on lush grass to give a rich milk and cream which is world famous’. A selection of foods popular in the county was used and ranged from the omnipresent cream tea and clotted cream to the uncommon but traditional junket. The importance and popularity of regional foods is reflected in *Traditional Foods of Britain* (1999), an inventory of 400 regional British foods. This European Union inspired guide provides details of producers and their products. The entry for the south west exceeds by far the other regions in the scope and quantity of foods listed. Its appeal for tourists and those interested in food may be derived from a text that provides the historical background, traditions and derivation of the food and its current availability. The example of the *Devonshire split* or *Chudleigh* (p. 232) a yeasted bun usually served with clotted cream and jam, the basis of the cream tea, is typical of the entries pertaining to Devon. It not only explains how and where the product is made, but shows how it has evolved, and where it has survived.

**Table 6.4 The experience of foods eaten on holiday**

Food	Very good	Good	Fair	Neither good nor bad	Poor	Bad	Very bad	Responses	%
<b>Clotted cream</b>	141	45	5	3	0	0	0	194	16.79
<b>Cheese</b>	55	65	7	9	0	0	0	136	11.77
<b>Cider</b>	41	73	16	15	1	1	1	148	12.81
<b>Fish</b>	84	58	9	10	0	0	0	161	13.93
<b>Meat</b>	40	61	8	18	0	0	0	127	11.00

<b>Pasties</b>	57	73	9	10	2	0	0	151	13.07
<b>'Cream tea'</b>	111	65	10	3	0	0	0	189	16.36
<b>Junket</b>	8	4	3	33	1	0	0	49	4.24
	<b>537</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1155</b>	<b>Σ 100</b>

Source author, n=248

The responses are important in that they indicate the enduring popularity of traditional and perhaps stereotyped foods that have been associated with the county for a period much longer than the twentieth century timescale of the research. It is important to observe that clotted cream and the cream tea predominate and maintain their popularity. These were highly rated by respondents. It appears that they are still associated with the county (although available throughout the country) and are regarded as a holiday indulgence. In spite of health and dietary concerns regarding the negative effects of the butterfat content and cholesterol associated with cream it retains its aura of indulgence, mystery, luxury and has a special status. The overall quality of food in the county is highly rated with 981 out of 1155 (85%) responses grading the quality as very good or good. Junket, a traditional dish once popular in Devon was included in the selection receiving just over 4% of responses. Although appearing to be a small response it is important as junket is rarely encountered in commercial outlets, yet up to the mid twentieth century was a popular item associated with the county and regarded as a delicacy. Apart from the cream tea it is one of the few traditional dishes presented to tourists and does to an extent reflect the phenomena in food where over a period of time certain items are subject to fashions and trends in taste. It is important to note that the popularity of meat, fish, and cheese as souvenir ingredients is possibly linked to activities such as farmer's markets and cookery schools in the experience and attraction of food and tourism. Improved packaging and transportation also makes it easier to take home. Although cream can still be sent by post this was not mentioned.

Respondents were asked to state where they ate out whilst on holiday. The commercial outlets listed in the questionnaire are varied and exclude domestic situations such as eating out with friends and relatives. These are shown in table 6.4. Cullen (1994: pp. 4-9) affirms that eating out is an interesting phenomenon of a changing society and may be observed in the pattern of eating out. This he suggests had changed by the early 1990s with a move towards a more informal style of 'snacks, sandwiches, and American-style fast foods'. It is important to observe ensuing changes to the pattern of eating out and that in addition to the technology and economic perspective of the 1990s would be added the



ethical and environmental food concerns of many consumers – and tourists. The café, restaurant and gastro-pub received the highest number of responses indicating their popularity with tourists, and are perhaps a sign of the pattern identified by Cullen in the 1990s for a more informal style of eating out. A wide range of consumer taste and choice is represented, but it is also typical of the county in that the traditional outlets of cafes and tea shops predominate.

**Table 6.5 Eating out on holiday**

<b>Outlet</b>	<b>Responses%</b>	<b>Comment/example</b>
Cafe	<b>179</b> 27.32	Tearooms, tea shops, coffee shops
Restaurant	<b>156</b> 23.81	Independent, bistro, 'fine dining'
Hotel	<b>82</b> 12.51	As resident or non-resident guest
Gastro-pub	<b>102</b> 15.57	Pub food
Themed restaurant	<b>9</b> 1.37	Italian, Thai
Chain restaurant	<b>44</b> 6.71	Fast food, popular catering
Tourist attraction	<b>83</b> 12.67	Theme park, stately home
Total responses	<b>655</b> $\Sigma$ 100	

Source, on-line questionnaire n=248

Table 6.4 represents a range of commercial outlets associated with tourism but it should be noted that snack foods such as sandwiches are regarded as an 'eating out' opportunity by the Office for National Statistics. By definition eating out presents many occasions for eating away from home. The total number of responses indicates that tourists use a variety of outlets during their stay.

78% of respondents used the café as an outlet indicating the reputation of cafes as affordable and informal food outlets. However the popularity of restaurants, hotels and gastro-pubs as food outlets chosen by tourists suggests an increase in eating out on holiday which is allied to the general increase in the consumption of meals eaten away from home. The Office for National Statistics reported in a 2006 news release that spending on eating out had overtaken spending on food products eaten at home, doubling between 1992 and 2004. The release suggested that there were cultural changes to be considered in this increase such as eating out more regularly and that the public were able to enjoy a wider range of cuisines. Since the publication in 2004 the economic downturn has to be considered and it is suggested that spending (and eating) patterns change as consumers ‘category switch’ and trade down searching for less costly foods and eating out experiences. This predisposition could in some ways account for the popularity of less formal and expensive eating out opportunities. Family Food (2010: p. 63) indicates trends in the consumption of foods from a diverse range of ethnic cuisines such as Indian, Chinese or Thai but also that consumers consider aspects of health related to food choice, for example levels of sodium and saturated fat. For many of the respondents aspects of health referred to the source of their food, whether it was local or organic and traceable. These may indicate a somewhat localised and region-centric interest in contrast and extension to the broader trends presented in Family Food.

Respondents were asked to state when (in which decades), and for how long they had stayed in Devon as a tourist, the type of accommodation they had used, whether they had eaten out during their stay and which local foods they had sampled during their holiday. The responses to these questions could be measured and presented quantitatively but instead were linked to specific eras of the research timescale. Food outlets and a range of eight local foods were used in order to establish relationships between food and tourism.

Table 6.6 When respondents stayed in Devon

Decades	Responses %
1930s	1      0.15
1940s	9      1.41
1950s	23      3.60

1960s	69	10.81
1970s	97	15.20
1980s	119	18.65
1990s	144	22.57
2000s	173	27.11
Total responses	638	$\Sigma$ 100

Source, author, on-line questionnaire, n=248

The eras in which respondents had stayed in Devon, shown in table 6.5, extended through the 1930s to the twenty-first century, and the level of responses indicated that some respondents had visited the county through several decades. This is an important observation as Devon may have been visited through various times in the life cycle, perhaps first in childhood, then later experienced as a parent, and in some cases in retirement and may eventually lead to the resort (Devon) becoming home. The majority of respondents had visited the county since the 1970s.

The small but significant numbers visiting the county in the first half of the twentieth century (table 6.5 decades 1930s/40s) are an indication of a diminishing resource and dimension of this type of longitudinal research. In researching the time span of a century it is inevitable that access to memories of the earliest decades will be limited. However, those respondents whose memories recalled the inter-war and immediate post-war period provided much valuable data.<sup>5</sup>

In order to find out more about tourists' opportunities to sample food and hospitality in Devon, the length of stay was included in the questionnaire, shown in table 6.6. This ranged from short breaks measured in days and weekends to weeks. Holidays of one week appeared most but extended to over three weeks. Typical responses included, *1 week*, *3 days numerous times*, and, *various lengths of stay from 1 night to about ten nights*. It was evident that although the county was a popular summer resort, the season was extendable and that respondents stayed for both short breaks and longer (main/annual) holidays. Short breaks and one week's holiday amounted to 182 out of the 253 responses, followed by two weeks at 51 responses, three weeks at six, and 14 stated longer although the duration was not specified other than one who noted *Month at a time*. Some respondents indicated that they stayed in Devon on several occasions during the year, perhaps as, 'have friends visit frequently for 2-5 days or

<sup>5</sup> Although records of tourism activities exist from that period they are mostly restricted to private journals, the photograph and postcard, oral histories and Mass Observation.

2 weeks at various times'. The short break market is important to the region. Searl (1995) writing in *The Independent* stated that short breaks in Britain had risen by 30% describing them as an English holiday revival and new trend among 'career couples, affluent families and empty-nesters'. Shaw and Williams (2002: p. 62) suggest that they may be taken more evenly throughout the year than long holidays and that they often related to special events and interests. These 'special interests', for example food festivals and sporting events, are frequently enhanced by, or focus, on food.

Table 6.7 Length of stay in Devon

<b>Length of stay</b>	<b>Responses<sup>%</sup></b>	
Days < less than a week	<b>76</b>	<b>30.03</b>
1 Week	<b>106</b>	<b>41.89</b>
2 Weeks	<b>51</b>	<b>20.15</b>
3 Weeks	<b>6</b>	<b>2.37</b>
Longer	<b>14</b>	<b>5.53</b>
<b>Total responses</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>Σ100</b>

Source, author, on-line questionnaire. N=248

The accommodation presented in table 6.7 shows a preference amongst respondents for the moderately priced categories including self-catering which has implications for the provision and consumption of food. Where full board (all meals provided) is not used, which appears to be greatest, the tourists are likely to eat out, or purchase foods to eat in the domestic domain. This might suggest a further opportunity to sample local produce. The advantage noted by some respondents supports a preference for freedom of choice, and flexibility in holiday food consumption. It also provides the opportunity for tourists to sample a variety of local restaurants and food outlets.

Table 6.8 The range of accommodation

Accommodation	Responses <sup>%</sup>	Comment/example
Hotel	<b>76 18.81</b>	Chain and independent
Guest house or Bed and breakfast	<b>90 22.27</b>	Family-run including 'farmhouse'
Country house hotel	<b>15 3.71</b>	'Small', independent
Self-catering	<b>136 33.66</b>	Holiday cottages and second homes
With friends or relatives	<b>75 18.56</b>	Domestic domain
Farmhouse	<b>12 2.97</b>	Bed & Breakfast, Evening meal
<b>Total responses</b>	<b>404 <math>\Sigma</math> 100</b>	

Source, author, on-line questionnaire, n=248

### **6.6 Results and indications of the open ended answers**

The responses to the questionnaires established that qualitative data collection through interviews was apposite to the research topic. These exhibited the breadth of reminiscence, memory and narrative, and the willingness of respondents to share their tourism experiences. However, it is important to be aware that for some, occasionally, recalling the past may be difficult, evoking statements such as, *it was a long time ago, I'd like to forget it*. One respondent commented that although she had been happy to share her life and work history some chapters were hard to revisit, *such as the time when I lost my husband and son*.

The contributions demonstrated an interest in food that was prompted and readily recalled. It was important to note that food was sometimes an emotive topic and that in many instances food emerged as a unifying thread through life stories. Foods were often associated with a particular place or time, in this instance usually a summer holiday, thus the influences of season and region were noted as important in prompting memories.

It was important to note that many respondents had identified a range of traditional foods, and those perceived to be local, for example pasties, cream teas and cheese. The importance of food as a souvenir gift and for personal consumption was evident, and in some instances this was associated

with the importance of purchasing the product at the point of production, linking food to a specific place and the holiday.

The interest in food was sometimes considered as an enhancement, and addition to the tourism experience, not always the primary motivation. Food also emerged as an incentive or motivation to visit a specific region emphasising the qualities of food as attraction or component of the holiday. Visiting the county for its food emerged as a motivation later in the timescale as the range of food-based activities and food outlets (restaurants, markets, and shops) increased.

The interest in the holiday and the aspects of the region, its landscape, culture, tradition and subsequently food indicate that the county attracts in many ways and that these attractions are interlinked. The example of farm holidays, farm shops and producers immediately links the tourist to the rural landscape, economy and lifestyle.

The value of reflexive content in recalling memories, events and people was evident in the responses, and it was obvious that food encouraged reflexivity and enabled this process to be communicated. This encouraged the use of the interview as a means of data collection. The association between the interviewer and interviewee was identified as crucial in the ethnomethodological research process. Parker (1999: pp. 15 – 16) emphasises the importance of this interactive relationship in understanding and interpreting the interview content.

The results from the questionnaire demonstrated that food and the experience of the holiday were interrelated. Some foods were recalled as holiday treats and associated with the holiday, the place and time of year. Virtually without exception the recollections of food were positive. Respondents who recalled the eras of adversity and austerity noted that food was an important component, and often regarded as a bonus experience at this time. The relationships and the interest in food could be seen to have evolved and that each era of the timescale was strongly associated with food. This was noted from the memories of the immediate post-war period, with shortages and restricted food options, to times of plenty and diverse choice in later eras.

The objectives of the research are based on looking at food and tourism through a timescale, evolving trends, the provision of food for tourists. The responses indicated developments and key dates in the

food and tourism relationship. These acted as a stimulus, encouraging the researcher to learn more about the connections between food and tourism through oral histories and interviews.

#### **6.6.1 The in-depth personal interviews**

Veal (2006: p.197) suggests that an in-depth interview is characterised by length, depth and structure. The process may involve interviewing people more than once. Every interview will be different although it is concerned with the same issues. The interviews were sometimes supported with respondents' personal written accounts and autobiographies. Some of these were published works, for example those of Eileen Younghusband, *Not an Ordinary Life* and Frank Authers', *A bird's eye view from the ground* both of whom had recalled life before, during and after World War Two. Others were written as private records or holiday diaries and originally intended for family or personal use only.

Two examples may be used to illustrate the difference between the formal structure and narrative of the journal and the semi-structured interview in which further relevant details may be recorded. Eileen Younghusband stated that she had re-visited the 'Devon' chapters in her autobiography after discussing her tourism experience in the county.

Although many journals and records are in the private domain some are accessible to the public in archives and collections. Some too are sold as a curiosity, for example *Holidays in England and Wales from 1940*. An anonymous journal, it records wartime holidays arranged through the International Friendship League and The Cooperative Holidays Association. The holiday, titled *A few recollections of a pleasant holiday spent in North Devon Ilfracombe, August 1941* provides a remarkable account of a wartime holiday. In addition to the descriptions of excursions and the rugged Devonshire landscape, food is mentioned. A visit to Clovelly features cider and lunch at the New Inn and the village is compared to Lake Como in Italy thus:

‘.....one cannot but associate the tremendous similarity to some of the Italian lakeside villages with their cobbled steps leading down to the waterside.’

The day out concludes with a visit to Westward Ho! where *a stop* was made for a 'real Devonshire tea despite wartime restrictions.' Such detail is important as the narrative places food in the context of a holiday and in a particular period. Bendix (2002: p. 475) suggests that individuals craft stories out of the experience of daily life that may seem extraordinary, overwhelming or upsetting to others. The reader interprets the experience of others from another perspective, and the narrative may be regarded as an historical document, and are records of tourism's social history. Conversely the tourist records personal experiences 'against the promised experiences that have been purchased' and the destination receives tourists through the 'narrative morsels it plants', or circulated by others including the private stories of happy tourists'. The potential of the tourism narrative is significant in tourism research in that it can include the descriptions of both the tourist and the industry.

It is interesting to note that such journals and diaries have become desirable commodities, frequently sold at antiques fairs and auctions. A major strength of these works is that they provide an additional source of personal data and can act as a prompt in discussions.

Journals and accounts presented by respondents are often a valuable source of background material regarding their life and circumstances, and are useful in discovering more about the role that tourism has played in this. A possible weakness in these documents is that some of the materials tend to be written using a somewhat prescriptive and didactic school essay format and the personal, informal detail and spontaneous casual comment gained through the interview process is missing. However, when used in conjunction with an interview they are a useful additional resource in the dialogue process, as they can aid memory and encourage the researcher to search for further details.

The interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis with the exception of Diana (whose daughter was present), and the members of Upstream (a support group), who were interviewed during one of their regular meetings. There were advantages with group meetings in that peer support sometimes stimulated dialogue but a possible disadvantage is that more outgoing personalities might dominate the discussions.

*Upstream* is a charity set up in 2002 by Dr Peter Twomey of Chiddenbrook Surgery, Crediton, Devon. Established in order to provide support and stimulation for older people, those who live alone or who have experienced some form of trauma or life change. Organisations such as Upstream use memory and recall-based activities to encourage interaction and engagement between members. Of particular



relevance to the research in tourism and longitudinal research is the concept of migrating knowledge from one age group to another, transgenerational learning from other generations. The work of organisations such as Upstream in Devon demonstrates different and interesting ways of engaging seniors in creatively sharing experiences. (Some of these; for example the personal experiences of World War Two, are stored as permanent records in schools, museums and archives.)

#### **6.6.2 Analysis of the interviews**

The thirty-three in-depth interviews and text responses from the 248 on-line questionnaires presents the researcher with a considerable amount of textual data. Parker, (1999: p. 4) defines text as ‘any tissue of meaning which is symbolically significant for a reader’. The reader in turn produces another text, a translation. It is the translation of the texts which is subsequently analysed. Programmes such as NVivo could be used but in the case of a relatively small number of interviews it was decided to use other methods, thematic analysis complementary to the content analysis used with the archival materials. It is really the written and spoken word that is central to the data collection. Therefore the use of narrative, life story and oral histories were studied on an individual basis.

Discourse analysis refers to speech, the spoken word and writing. The term discourse analysis is ambiguous states Stubbs (1983: pp. 1-6) and suggests that it refers mainly to the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring or constructed spoken or written discourse. Discourse analysis is concerned with the organisation of language, language in social contexts and the interaction or dialogue between speakers. In the context of tourism this is important as the discourse is derived from the experience of holidays, and memory and recall over a period of time. Stamou and Paraskevopoulos (2004: pp. 115-

6) suggest that the discourse of tourism is about the consumption of commodified pleasure, although it is acknowledged that pursuits of education, change of place and routine are important tourism characteristics. It is important to consider that the recollections and discourse of tourism may be presented in the context of life and work histories, therefore may include detail other than hedonism.

The interviews were sometimes supported by additional resources such as journals, autobiographies and essays. Therefore as Stubbs (1983) advocates, a variety of sources may be used under one title.

### **6.7 Overview of the emergent themes**

Health in the context of tourism has evolved from the relatively genteel and exclusive days of the spas and watering places of the early 19th century to the era of the Physical Training Act 1937, the growth of mass tourism, fresh air and sunshine to the age of exclusive leisure pursuits, health farms and well-being, the phenomenon of wellness of the late 20th century. Matless (1997: p. 149) refers to the 1930s and 40s as an important time during which leisure, recreation and health were actively promoted and encouraged arguably exerting an influence over future generations leisure consumption patterns. The popularity of The Women's League of Health and Beauty advocated through the work of Mrs Bagot Stack (1935: p.4) encouraged middle class women to use their leisure time in a form of exercise based *body training*. The interest in the open air is suggested as one element of a 'body culture' that included diet and alludes to the consumption of unprocessed fresh food. It is noted that 'extra rations of fresh food, sunlight and fresh air' would improve the health of 'mothers and children in the poorer quarters of our cities' (p. 70). The theme of health and leisure at this time is developed by Smith (2005: pp. 19-21) who describes the popularity of the Lido as emanating from the health movements in Germany and other European states. It is suggested that by the 1930s open air pools were regarded as 'emblems of municipal modernity'. With their cafes and recreational areas they provided a ready-made and inclusive resort. The nautical Tinside Lido in Plymouth was described (Ibid p. 110) as a place of entertainment with swimming galas and water polo at a time when access to bathing was

restricted to seaside resorts or swimming baths. Such facilities attracted visitors to the county, promoting it as a healthy and modern destination. It was perceived as a healthy place in which to holiday by many tourists.

The attraction of the county is diverse and multifaceted, and combines elements of landscape, history, culture and industry. This has remained so throughout the timescale of the research. It was often described as picturesque, and compared to other resorts in France and Italy in the first half of the century.

The interviews reveal that the attraction of food has evolved from being regarded as an additional interest and bonus to becoming a specialised activity and an experience and motivation for visiting the county. This is reflected in the growth of food tourism and specialist interests in food, and food-related activities that include farm and vineyard tours, cookery schools and food festivals. Food in the early twenty-first century is celebrated and has a higher consumer profile than at the beginning of the twentieth century, and this is significant in its relationship with tourism.

It is perceptible that tourism follows trends in consumerism, diet and health and the food trends in many ways reflect the influences of international tastes and travel. The proliferation of restaurants in holiday resorts offering an eclectic choice of world foods is a testament to changing culinary tastes and aspirations. It is important to note that local food has emerged as a significant attraction, and expectation linked to ethical, environmental and sustainable tourism.

Patterns of holidays are important as the traditional summer holiday has been supplemented by weekend and short breaks, and holidays out of season. For many respondents the holiday pattern of a summer break at the same resort at the same time was a familiar routine. Short breaks afford the opportunity for specialist interests including food-related events, for example food festivals and gastronomic weekends.

The data indicated that in times of adversity there are opportunities and the industry evolves, develops and innovates. This was evident during the economic depression of the 1930s, two World Wars when the county still welcomed tourists, and more recently following the foot-and-mouth epidemic of 2001

when new forms of tourism and food production emerged. The relationship between tourism and the countryside is perhaps consolidated in times of crisis.

It was apparent that tourists' interests in food extend beyond the holiday and visitor experience to their lifestyle. This can be demonstrated through the extensive purchase of food souvenirs and food as an activity beyond eating out in Michelin starred restaurants. The frequency of eating out, range and amounts of food consumed by tourists are important considerations in the evolutionary process of the food tourism relationship. The growth of cookery schools, educational visits to farms and vineyards are important in the attraction of families and other tourist segments. The noticeable interest in food production, provenance and traceability is an important trend signifying an advanced and sophisticated level of consumer tourist interest.

A significant theme to emerge from the interviews is the quest for the local, authentic and traditional in food. Artisan produced foods, a term associated particularly with bread and cheese, connects tourist consumption with farming, perhaps reconnecting the public to the landscape and to agriculture. Therefore the two industries are interconnected in the pursuit of leisure.

#### **6.7.1 The interviews - tourists**

Respondents were classified as either demand or supply, that is tourists and those involved in the provision of food for tourists. The respondents' demographic profile comprised males and females with an age range of 20 to 95 years (tourists and industry combined). Details of the respondents, for example age and gender are found in table 6.1. In contrast to the quotations derived from the questionnaires, the in-depth interviews tended to yield richer results as the interviewer was in direct contact with the respondent.

The tourists were identified as those representing a demand for the provision of food in conjunction with tourism through the timescale. The supply respondents were drawn from those who had a

connection with the provision of food for tourists. These ranged from hoteliers to farmers and manufacturers. Two food writers, an historian and broadcaster were contained in the supply category.

The semi-structured interviews were structured to address the four research objectives,

### **6.7.2 Objective 1 Tourism in Devon in the twentieth century**

The age range of the respondents resulted in the recall of holidays dating from 1925 to the twenty-first century, spanning over eighty years. The reasons for coming to Devon are varied and indicate that the scenery was a major attraction with comments such as:

“.....largely scenery, the sea was beautiful, very magical, and it was the sea and surf and peace and quiet we came for, we visited Torquay, Paignton, Newton Abbot, Bere Regis, Barnstaple, Clovelly and Tiverton which seemed small and remote and was reached using lonely roads without traffic. Britain appeared sparsely populated.” (Richard, age 70)

For others there was an element of nostalgia and reflection especially as they returned to holiday in Devon. Wing Sun Tung and Brent Ritchie (2011: pp.338-339) suggest that although nostalgic-seeking has been identified as an important travel motive for ‘senior travellers’ (aged 55+) there is a ‘more involving nostalgic re-enacting element’ to be considered where tourists wish to relive the original experience while adding a new dimension. For example, Sheena observed that a recent holiday in Devon was motivated in part:

‘.....to visit and revive vivid memories of Babbacombe and Torquay, seeing it all with childhood eyes and going back forty years and my childhood memories are of going away and coming back after the 1950s we brought our children in the 80s.’ (Sheena, age 50)

A number of respondents stated that they had returned to Devon at various times in their lives indicating various stages in the life cycle and apposite holidays. Childhood holidays or the first visit prompted strong and often vivid memories. Jan’s experience demonstrated how a cycle of holidays

emerges, she and her family first came to Devon for summer holidays in the 1950s staying in farmhouses for bed and breakfast, self-catering or camping during the school holidays,

‘after the 1950s we brought our children in the 1980s then bought a holiday home.’ (Sheena, age 50)

One respondent noted that the idyllic summer holidays continued throughout her childhood in the 1930s:

‘.....it was a carefree holiday on the spot, it was an opportunity at very little cost to keep in touch with relatives, we came up until 1939, after that life became quite different.’ (Diana-Mary, age 84).

Some had later returned to Devon to live and work and subsequently retire. Two respondents commented that they had subsequently introduced friends and family to Devon and that they had not realised the role that food had played in their lives, in addition to tourism. The interview process stimulated memories;

‘I’ve never really sat back and thought about the whole essence of how it’s all evolved.’ (Aviva, age 35)

Rosalie recalled that when she was working in Blackpool she imagined, ‘never in my wildest dreams did I think I’d live in Devon’. In many examples the holiday was perhaps the catalyst that led to permanent residence.

All had visited the county during the summer as children and those that had visited regularly regarded it as a summer destination. Two respondents had visited in early spring and autumn for sporting holidays, fishing and diving. The holiday destinations showed a preference for South Devon with 11 of the 15 respondents identifying resorts in the area, but sometimes more than one, or a touring holiday was mentioned, the county was perceived as both a nodal and linear resort. When asked where did you stay? Devon appeared to be divided as North and South and then the resorts identified including, Croyde and Eggesford in North Devon and Torquay, Plymouth, Bigbury, Exmouth, Exeter

and Dawlish in the south. (See map, Beautiful Devon, figure 4.2 p. 102, chapter 4) Early in the interviews the resorts were identified and sometimes justified, for example as accessible, 'we lived in Somerset so Devon was near', (Diana Mary), or to visit friends and relations. Some identified resorts associated with a specific activity,

‘ ....we came for the fishing, salmon and sea trout on the river Taw. (Pauline, age 80), or diving, I came to Plymouth having lived in the Caribbean, I think diving is undersold in this area’. (Charlotte, age 55)

These activities were subsequently enhanced by the provision of food.

Place, the location of the holiday, was important with the identification of resorts and areas associated with tourism. Gross and Brown, (2006: p. 697) state that place attachment is an important bond having two dimensions, place identity which is symbolic or affective and place dependency, a functional attachment. In the example of Devon these were evident, and respondents clearly identified attachments rich in personal symbolism as a time of sharing the experience of a family holiday, and describing resorts in terms of location, and amenities as in the example of Sandy Bay Holiday Park, a popular caravan park close to Exmouth in South Devon. The narrative of the 1968 *Sandy Bay Holiday Park* brochure (1968: p.i) described it as ‘one of the largest holiday camps in the country, situated in glorious Devon, with miles of golden sands and safe bathing’. Thus the attachments of identity and function are recognised as important in attracting tourists.

Geographical descriptions were frequently used in the holiday recollections. The sea, moors, countryside, red cliffs, hills, and contrasting coast lines, the quality of the water for diving were attributes noted in the interviews. The scenery was an important part of the motivation to visit Devon evoking comments typically:

‘....largely scenery, the sea was beautiful, very magical, it was the sea and surf and peace and quiet we came for, the beaches, we could guarantee the weather, and,...the first time (as a child) I saw the red fields, the glaring redness of the fields still staggers me now, it amazes me.’ (Talbot, recalled at the age of 92).

The varied landscape of the county has played an obvious role in attracting visitors and for some it made a lasting impression.

The changing social status of Devon's resorts was observed, and the example of Torquay showed how the resort had evolved from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Richard, who observed the coastal developments of South Devon resorts in the 1950s compared these with the South of France:

‘...Torquay and Paignton were much nicer than Nice, smaller scale and restrained in comparison, the English Riviera I find preferable to the French Riviera.’ (Richard, age 70)

Talbot, who had lived in Ceylon as a child but ‘can’t recall it much at all’, stayed in Dawlish c. 1930 and compared it thus with Torquay:

‘Dawlish seemed more of a village than Torquay which had the Riviera touch, perhaps a bit more upmarket like Nice. Dawlish is more intimate, right on the beach.’ (Talbot, age 92)

These comparisons are possibly a characteristic of the generations who did not travel abroad so often and perhaps represented a yearning for something better or more elusive than domestic tourism.

Comparing Devon with other countries and resorts does not seem to appear so frequently in current descriptions and accounts. That many of these destinations, once exclusive and physically removed, are now accessible and affordable to generations of consumers who have experienced other countries as tourists, not vicariously, may contribute to this change. The county is promoted as Devon, not compared to the South of France, Italy or Switzerland. The towns of Torquay, Babbacombe, Paignton and Brixham are promoted as The English Riviera, South Devon’s beautiful bay in the 2010 brochure. Torquay is described as *stylish and continental* alluding to earlier comparisons with Nice and Monte Carlo. However, the Riviera has a symbolism and meaning in tourism place identity as an accessible alternative to that of France for some respondents. Rosalie recalled the status of Torquay in the 1950s as inspirational:



‘The manager where I worked went to the Imperial (Torquay) every November. We were very absolutely green with envy, he’d say look at this hotel, the food, the type of people – upper class, the weather – sun shining always. Torquay was looked upon as one of the best places, we were envious, it was a contrast to Blackpool.’

The resort had changed by the 1970s and Rosalie noted that:

‘.....there has been deterioration since the 1970s with the type of people that come. It’s a class thing. The upper and middle classes go abroad and the working classes come down here. ....in Whitsun 1976 I stayed at the Ingoldsby Hotel, Seaway Lane Torquay, it was about the time of Fawltly Towers and the owner/manager was similar to Basil Fawltly. The food was dinner, bed and breakfast, usual English style.’ (Rosalie, age 76)

By the late the 20<sup>th</sup> century the hotels had changed too, attracting another market segment:

‘The Palm Court on the front, it had a clientele, it didn’t need to advertise, how times have changed.’ (Rosalie, age 76)

Diana also thought Torquay had changed, since the 1930s:

‘....it’s rather gone downhill hasn’t it? We had friends who lived there, they were the friends who used to go skiing with us. It had palm trees like a continental place.’ (Diana, age 95)

As the interviews progressed holidays and resorts were related to leisure activities and sometimes noted as a motivation. Holidays including sport, fishing, surfing, golf and diving were identified throughout the timescale although the earlier recollections emphasised the attraction of fresh air, sunshine and the enjoyment of the beach for example:

‘....as Sandy Bay provided extensive beaches the family did not travel far.’ (Margaret, age 55),

or,

‘...bowls on the bowling green, an innovation for us, popular and still going today.’ (Talbot, age 92),

and,

‘it was a carefree holiday, we spent a lot of time on the rocks collecting shellfish which we ate...’ (Diana-Mary, age 84)

‘...we walked a lot, we were a family of going out and about, at Exmouth there was a great concourse and we would walk to the beach...’ (Joan, age 82)

The interests in health, exercise and fresh air, especially at the seaside, echoes the medical advice of the inter-war era which was associated with food. *The British Medical Journal* (1936: pp. 1011-1012) reported concerns about diet and foods consumed at the health resorts, suggesting that it was difficult to introduce what was considered as a healthy diet into many hotels, but that the coastal health resorts demonstrated the potential for food, health and tourism. This was an important observation at the time when holidays were considered as contributing to health and well-being. Joan described the health dimension of tourism at Exmouth in the 1930s:

‘...there was a sanatorium opposite the lifeboat house for TB infections, it was healthy on the beach, we stayed in an hotel in that nice Regency Crescent (Morton Crescent), we went on the beach every day, and for cliff walks.’ (Joan, age 82)

It is important to note that food is associated with health, leisure and ultimately the experience of tourists.

### **6.7.3 Food and tourism relationships**

Food references garnered from the interviews ranged from eating out to self-catering and food as a souvenir. It was noted that the propensity to eating out increased through the timescale. Specific

restaurants and food outlets were recalled and with the choice of restaurants some respondents looked for traditional and local produce. Eating out increases from the post-war years. Prior to this it was the cafe, tea shop that predominated but was appropriate for the era of depression and the social conventions of the time. These were obviously important to the tourism economy and enhanced the holiday experience for many visitors. It was interesting to note that establishments such as Deller's Cafes in Exeter and Paignton, Madge Mellor's in Newton Abbot, or Clapp's Cafe in Exmouth (see appendix) were recalled as special and unique, and for many tourists provided the ultimate holiday eating out experience. Daphne remembered visiting Madge Mellor's cake shop and restaurant, *we had Florentines* (a type of chocolate-coated biscuit). However, it was the celebrated Deller's Cafe in Exeter in the early 1930s that evoked the strongest memories:

‘my sister took me to Deller's, Ismay said Deller's had a good name, that was a bit of alright, it was absolutely lovely, that was the bit of culture.’ (Daphne, age 92)

Diana wistfully recalled the Arts and Crafts inspired decorations, and ambience of the cafe:

‘.....oh, I loved Deller's Cafe, absolutely beautiful, I suppose a sort of Edwardian style, they had three floors, ballroom up above. I remember all the silver stuff they had, coffee pots very beautiful silver (or plate) a very elegant style, it was a wonderful place, they had lovely ice cream there, whether they made it themselves I don't know.’ (Diana, age 95)

Rosalie described the changes in food for tourists since the 1970s stating that change (culinary) *was slower to arrive in Devon*, a sameness and uniformity in food provision was ascribed to the influence of fast food:

‘.....in the USA in 1980 it seemed easy and quick but became the main meal, people are wanting to get back to real food.’ (Rosalie, age 76)

There was a difference in the provision of food in Devon earlier in the timescale, suggesting that this has changed. Pauline had visited the county in the 1970s and 80s and remembered the food in country hotels as good but suggested that:

‘...there was much less influence from other countries, even the French cuisine was basically English food.’

Pauline’s husband had worked for an international company consequently:

‘Tim used to go all over Europe, to Paris, all the capitals, he said they were all the same, you could be almost anywhere. Down here (North Devon) there’s still plenty of individuality, the smaller pubs are often taken over by a chain and they lose this.’ (Pauline, age 80)

That Devon was different in terms food was also noted by Richard. Visiting Devon as a child in the late 1950s he recalls the food as supplementing the pleasures of the holiday but concluded that ‘....it wasn’t exciting, but pleasant, if you wanted exciting food you went to London’. The introduction of new foods and restaurants he associated with travel abroad with, ‘the Americans bringing ideas and with the Italian and French it was cosmopolitan and exciting’. Richard described food in some of the lesser restaurants as, ‘school meals type, diabolically unpleasant’.

Food away from home and on holiday was part of the attraction and throughout the century informal meals were the extent of eating out for the majority these included fish and chips and in the late twentieth century pub food,

‘...pub meals because they’re good because they are informal, we used pubs, the food and services were as good as up country but (in Devon) the ingredients were better.’ (Pauline, age 80).

Cafes and tea shops were widely used with references to cream teas of splits or scones with cream and jam, for example, ‘I remember rainy days punctuated by cake in the morning early lunch and cake in the afternoon.’ Margaret noted that changes in the style and frequency of eating out had resulted in:

‘(eating out) has become a routine, 20 years ago this wasn’t so. A Devon cream tea and local ice cream Pollard’s which was a better choice than the standard Wall’s were enjoyed whilst in holiday mode.’ (Margaret, age 55)

Margaret had a dream to open a tea shop, I remember as a child looking into Clapp’s Cafe, (a culinary landmark in Exmouth) she later bought a holiday flat there.

The frequency of eating out ranges from a treat and special occasion up to the 1970s and by the late twentieth century regarded by many as a leisure activity and expectation. Eating out was described by some respondents as *aspirational* in the 1950s, which is in contrast with the higher profile of local foods currently available in the 2010’s. It was clear that the frequency of eating out, and the desire to eat out, had changed. The difference between domestic and commercial provision of food emerged as a motivation and interest. Home cooked food was generally fondly recalled whereas hotel food was sometimes described as pleasant, not exciting, un-daring and limited in the 1950s. Devon was assumed, not, to be London where a greater variety of cuisines was expected. It is important to note that some memories recalled a specific era and were therefore influenced by childhood memories. Food was identified as a symbol of differentiation between Devon and the rest of the UK and this was represented in terms of ingredients and food outlets.

The relationship between food and tourism develops with the experience of the individual and over time. As a child and as an adult there are differing perceptions, expectations and experience which will influence the associations between food and tourism.

Gloria, looking for the authentic as an American visiting Devon – suggested that her British ‘food’ perceptions were based on the media:

‘I was interested in authentic local foods, but I had less information at the time of my first visit (1982) about how food in Devon might be differentiated from foods in Britain generally. The focus has changed to organic and locally grown foods and is of more interest now, regional specialities were a primary focus then.’ (Gloria, age 57)

#### **6.7.4 Provision of food through the twentieth century**

Food for tourists encapsulates a wide range of outlets from shops to cafes, hotels and restaurants. Whether local suppliers, local shops and now farm shops, specialist shops and outlets, the presentation and availability of food has changed through the century. Pauline recalled the influence of specialist producers, namely Anne Petch of Heal Farm who in 1984 joined the newly formed Rare Breeds Survival Trust and pioneered the production of rare breed meats and hams. The business grew out of a reaction against intensive farming methods and industrial food processing and may be regarded as a post-industrial development and return to local and small-scale production.

In some ways this is perceived as going full circle from small, local independent shops at the beginning of the twentieth century to be interpreted by another generation at the end of the century with small-scale markets and outlets as specialist shops. Jan noted that by the beginning of the twentieth century:

‘.... there is much more variety, foreign food is more prevalent, people are also loyal to home-grown food. Devon could use this as a selling point, all the good food it produces.’ (Jan, age 50)

The awareness of food miles and importance of using local produce was considered to have become ‘more important in the last ten or twenty years’. (Jan, age 50)

Those tourists staying in self-catering accommodation tend to buy food locally. Margaret clearly recalls her father assuring the family in the 1950s that, ‘country food was better.’ He told them it would be of greater variety and quality than ‘home-grown’ (London).

‘....Part of the draw to Devon was its food and a healthier way of life, sea air and good food from the farms.’ (Margaret, age 55)

Margaret considers that an important part of the attraction of food to Londoners was that it was perceived as healthier in Devon. Penny felt that the food on holiday was different to home-cooked,

‘.....it was rich and lush, I remember the ice cream was yellow and clotted cream.’ (Penny, age 55)

The food consumed on holiday was described as different, not routine or usual, and unlike home. However the appeal of home cooking elsewhere proved to be a strong attraction. Penny’s childhood memory of a Devon holiday includes:

‘My lasting impression is of a (Bed and Breakfast) cottage where in the living room which seemed filled by the table was laid for us with an enormous tea sherry trifle, and home-made scones, we asked the couple is this all for us?’ (Penny, age 55)

Clearly, the vision and impact of the home-cooked food was significant and made a lasting impression.

The identification of food in Devon being special and different was noted in each interview. That it was *better* in Devon was exemplified by the respondent who recalled that her father had told her the *food was better in Devon*, and it was perceived that food was going to be better in the country. Sheena identified the geography of the county as important in the provision of food noting the availability of fish as a culinary attraction:

‘we’re landlocked, it’s nice to get some fresh local produce, we prefer to go out to try local cuisine like we do when we go abroad. We’d forgotten how lovely it is down there (Devon).’ (Sheena, age 50)

Margaret and her family had also recalled fresh produce as an important feature of their holiday:

‘it was the fresh fish sometimes purchased on the shore at Sandy Bay or in Exmouth market that was remembered as a special treat.’ (Margaret, age 55)

The provision of food in restaurants and food outlets has also changed, for example ‘pub food’ which was identified as an important opportunity for eating out. Up to the 1970s food in pubs tended to be limited to snacks or light meals. This is an important stage in the evolution of twentieth century eating out and illustrates the move from formal hotels and restaurants to an informal, but urbane form. Respondents used the terms *pubs* and *pub food* but not *gastro-pub* suggesting that the pub was associated with good food but that it was a casual form of eating out. Pauline recalled that the food in Devon ‘varied from really good pub food to sophisticated, but it was the ingredients good fruit and vegetables, and good honey.’ Pauline suggested that there were variations in size and sophistication between outlets. Sheena noted that in addition to looking for tearooms;

‘....we ate in the oldest inn in Torquay, The Hole in the Wall which was its claim to fame. We went there twice we were so impressed with the good food and service.’ (Sheena, age 50)

Daphne noted that the pubs provided snack pub lunches and friends visiting Devon for their holidays had remarked how lucky we were in Devon with the lovely pubs.

‘We went to Belstone, to the Tor Inn and they do superb food, very primitive, but so good. ‘ (Daphne, age 92)

Through the timescale the development of the pub (public house) is indicative of many changes in tourism and hospitality for example, the increased mobility of consumers, a demand for high quality, but affordable (and frequently local) food in informal surroundings. The provision of food has been important to the survival, and growth, of many outlets.

The provision of food for tourists identifies their interests in local foods and ingredients. In each interview specific foods, ingredients and food outlets were recognised as important components of the total holiday experience. Responses to questions about changes in food provision generally lauded the high standard of food provided in the county:

‘....over the last 5 years (c.2000) Devon, Exmoor and Dartmoor are blowing their own trumpets (about food) there are more greengrocers, individual food shops, organic and local food, farmers’ markets.’ (Ruth, age 50)



However, standardisation and packaging was stated as one change in contrast to memories of the late 1950s, *it (food) seems sanitised and packaged*. Memories and long associations with food outlets were important to the tourists, especially those who returned for many years and formed a relationship with the establishment and its owner. Daphne recalled the Badger's Holt tearooms:

‘...in those days (1970s) it was superb, we knew them (the owners) quite well. They did special scones cut like a cake. They still do, they sold that with the business. We went last year and had the same scones but didn't like the plastic tablecloths, quite coach partyish.’ (Daphne, age 92)

The provision of food is inextricably linked to place and is considered symbolic and functional. It is clear from the interviews that food may be associated with the experience of tourism in Devon and that this changes over time.

#### **6.7.5 Trends and patterns in the provision of foods for tourists**

The interviews revealed a consistency in the demonstration of an interest in food as a component of the tourism experience. They also showed ways in which this interest has changed, and evolved through the respondents' experiences.

It was important to observe that levels of interest in food have increased, intensified, and appear to be more specialised by the late twentieth century. Daphne stated that she had been holidaying in Devon for a long time and that the food was important:

‘if the food hadn’t been good we wouldn’t have gone twice a year. It was real home cooking, all local, it was plain but very good. When we first came down (c.1980) we seriously thought about writing about tea shops because we knew every teashop within a good radius.’ (Daphne, age 92).

Other references dating from the 1980s indicate an interest and concern regarding the production and quality of food in general for example, ‘the food was very good, and that was what took me back.’

It was clear that food had motivated and stimulated tourists through the eras of the timescale. The respondents acknowledged that food was sometimes regarded as an attraction in visiting Devon, or a part of the attraction. It was noted that the attraction of tourism changes in addition to the attraction of food, but more so in the latter part of the twentieth century.

The foods taken home as souvenirs ranged from clotted cream and fudge to meat and wine. Fudge has the attraction of including butter and clotted cream and has become associated with the county by these ingredients. The product originated in America and became popular in the UK in the mid-twentieth century. Typical responses referred to dairy products:

‘...we used to post clotted cream home in tins, (Penny, age 55) and, food was not taken home other than clotted cream by post, now cheese or produce is taken home.’ (Margaret, age 55)

The term food was also used to embrace ingredients and dishes for example:

‘.....and that’s where we had the best **junket** I’ve ever had, I hadn’t realised that **junket** and **cream** was a typical Devonian dish. You very rarely meet it. (Daphne, age 92)

Good old **cream teas**, we enjoyed the **clotted cream** – oh yes.(Pauline, age 80)

Probably the **cream tea** is authentic.(Sheena, age 50)

**Farm cooking** is still splendid although it’s getting a little more sophisticated. (Pauline, age 60)

**Rabbit casserole** a good local dish. (Jan, age 50)

The salt marshes produce good **lamb**. (Jan, age 50)

Lots of lovely **fish, fresh fish, scallops**. (Charlotte, age 55)

The area has an excellent reputation for its **seafood**.' (Sheena, age 50)

It was evident that the attraction of food has developed over time and is subject to fads, trends and fashions, for example food festivals and markets. Much of the recall was retrospective and reflexive and often memories of earlier events were compared and contrasted with the present. This was illustrated in responses to questions regarding staying in Devon.

The experience of holiday accommodation in Devon ranged from camping and caravans to self-catering and what was described as the country house hotel (although perceptions of the *country house hotel* have changed since the 1970s becoming associated with an exclusive and sophisticated market). Daphne remembered that going to Bovey was 'a great treat. We went there for a fortnight. Everyone went out of London in the summer.' The holiday experience has to be examined in the context of the period, in the inter-war period the countryside was promoted as a healthy, accessible and affordable holiday destination. Whereas overseas and European tourism was not uncommon it was relatively costly. Then as now at a time of economic hardship many consumers (tourists) searched for less expensive alternatives.

Devon as a destination appeared to have left a lasting impression and memories for respondents, typically expressed thus;

'The holiday revived memories, we hadn't really appreciated how sophisticated and cosmopolitan Torquay was. I have fond memories of that holiday. You've got to leave something to come back for.' (Sheena, 50)

'One of my favourite memories was having a picnic lunch amongst the Dartmoor ponies that had a timeless quality to it, it could have been taking place at any point across many decades.....' (Gloria, age 57)

The importance of life history in recounting and sharing experiences is invaluable to the researcher. In the context of leisure and tourism they show how the experience of tourism develops with the individual through the stages of the life cycle from childhood to that of retirement and solitary survivor status. Through the process of interview and discussion, tourism's, and the individuals', relationship with food appears to be complex, both functional and emotive. The interview process appears to have encouraged reflexivity. Feighery (2006: p. 270) states that reflexivity can be regarded as 'the act of making oneself the object of one's own observation'. This was demonstrated in many responses especially where details recalled distant events, for example the childhood holidays remembered as adults. Zauberman (2009: p. 727) regards memories as assets and that there are individual ways in which memories are protected and recalled. This is an important consideration, that memories may be recalled, or denied, in the interview process.

## **6.8 The interviews, the producers**

These comprised a diverse and rich resource including those who had been involved with tourism on the basis of business. Hoteliers, farmers, the owner of a sweet factory, and daughter of the founder of the Haldon Chalet Cafe contributed valuable recollections dating back to the 1920s. Whereas the tourists were perhaps an homogenous group in that visiting Devon as a tourist was common to each, the supply respondents represented heterogeneity as their involvement in tourism was sometimes supplementary to other business activities. This can be illustrated by the example of the farmers who may have diversified into tourism but still rely on agriculture for their main income, or the sweet factory for whom tourism was an important but seasonal part of their business. That is, they did not rely entirely on tourism to support their business.

The respondents were in some cases able to draw on archive materials and recollections that had been handed down to them. As an example one farming family had lived in the area since the seventeenth century and had been involved in tourism throughout the twentieth century providing accommodation and transport for the tourist market. Such life and work history recollections were important as they not only represented continuity and the lifecycle of the business but were used in identifying change and evolution in the provision of food for tourists.

The scope of the respondents in the supply sector was diverse. It included farming, hospitality, tourism administration, broadcasting and writing. The experience spanned almost 80 years, and reflected eras of growth and difficulty in the industry. An advantage of the collective knowledge was that trends and developments in the industry could be identified, for example the emergence of a more sophisticated and knowledgeable clientele and the demand for local produce. Most of the businesses (with the exception of The National Trust and Torquay Council) were relatively small and family owned.

The semi-structured interviews were structured to address the four research objectives.

### **6.8.1 Objective 1 To investigate and establish the relationships between food and tourism in Devon**

Having identified examples of the development of tourism through the twentieth century it is apposite to discover more about the relationships between food and tourism from the perspective of those involved in the industry. The experiences of respondents spanned much of the timescale, many sectors of the industry and potential for relationships. These included food and tourism as activity, souvenir, experience, and eating out as a tourist pursuit.

Early in the timescale in 1928 Diana remembered clearly her father's involvement in the development of the Haldon Chalet cafe close to Exeter. This provided a unique example of innovation in the

provision of facilities for tourists travelling in Devon by car. Diana's father, a keen motorist, spotted the opportunity for a cafe and named it a chalet, an allusion to his interest in winter sports in Switzerland. She recalled that the cafe, one of the earliest motoring cafes in Devon appealed to motorists not only for the panoramic views but the home-made cakes:

‘..... I remember they used to make beautiful stuff, lovely homemade scones, all sorts of sponge cakes and that sort of thing.’ (Diana, age 95)

This was typical of the inter-war period and other tearooms and affirmed the popularity of afternoon tea experience. The tourists' recollections also indicated that the cafe and tearoom are representative of the time. Such detail is important in identifying tourists' relationships with food and its consumption at a point in time.

The 1970s were recognised as an era of change in hospitality and tourism by eight respondents, all of whom had experience of the industry at that time. Andy having worked in the industry in Exeter from the 1970s discerned changes in the foods eaten, and consumption patterns. These he suggests came from London, ‘things happened in London, Reading and Bristol’, and that the ‘big chains were prominent’ with their standardised menus that appealed to many tourists. These are examples of popular (mass-produced) hospitality. The hotel sector was also changing at this time where in many cases ‘there was an element of good cuisine within hotels but it was restricted, that was the stuffy side.’ A new style of themed pub and independent restaurants provided alternatives to the chains but it was not until later in the decade that a new style of formal dining emerged.

Shaun, chef at Gidleigh Park from 1984 to 1994, considers the 1970s as the era when the interest in food began to change and develop significantly.<sup>6</sup>

‘In the early 70s people forget that nouvelle cuisine was an important and freeing movement that released chefs and diners from the ‘repertoire’ (a culinary guide to restaurant recipes and garnishes).’ (Shaun, age 60)

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<sup>6</sup> From the late 1950s developments in food processing, technology and availability influenced consumers' interests in food.

Shaun suggested that the new style of cookery and presentation was liberating for chefs and encouraged the use of local and fresh ingredients, *not just French dishes*. The new culinary movement was supported by influential restaurateurs and food writers for example Jane Grigson.

‘....there were different expectations and we faced competition from Greece and Spain and the public who were becoming more confident and adventurous in terms of food.’ (Shaun, age 60)

It was at this time that the market changed:

‘..eating out in London used to be an imitation of grand hotel dining rooms, wearing a collar and tie and being condescended to by the waiting crew. It was elitist, you were expected to know what sole Veronique was.’ (Shaun, age 60)

It is important to consider that at this time in the 1970s regional restaurants were considered as an attraction for some tourists. Gidleigh Park in Devon represented a new style of country house hotel, ‘basically the owner’ (an American businessman) ‘bought a derelict guest house and decided on what his market was’, and is described by Shaun as the contrast between so called ‘gastro-pub’s and the traditional ‘Grand Hotels’. By the turn of the twenty-first century he comments on the ways that the interests in food have evolved,:

‘.....it is interesting social theory that people who work and earn a living spend on eating out and cooking as a hobby.’ (Shaun, age 60)

Tom, food writer, historian and former editor of The Good Food Guide, identified the 1970s and 80s as a period of change in the interest in food.

‘.....Gidleigh Park is important, Paul Henderson (the owner) is significant in establishing **the gastronomic event of coming down to Devon.**’

At the Carved Angel in Dartmouth, (South Devon) Tom Jaine remembered that the issue of local foods became interesting,

‘we (The Carved Angel) were in the vanguard of local food. In 1984 the restaurant received the accolade of *local restaurant of the year*.’

Tom described the market for the restaurant as a mix of second home owners, tourists and a mix of the urban bourgeoisie from Torbay and Plymouth:

‘...a bourgeoisie with sandals on, not a tie, quasi-respectable bohemianism. This was before the explosion of eating out – it boomed in the late 1980s. The Imperial Hotel in Torquay had a good reputation and would have attracted the middle classes.’ (Tom, age 60)

It is important to note the references to social class and food, the middle classes being associated with the traditions of the hotel (as noted by Rosalie) and the bourgeoisie with the newer style of restaurant that was independent from many of the conventions of the established hotel dining room.

The relationships between food and tourism include accommodation, especially smaller units which appear to provide the opportunity for visitors to establish a bond with their hosts, and the frequency of eating out and purchasing souvenirs. For Frank (confectioner) mass market popular souvenirs, the market for nostalgia and localised food products, notably Clotted Cream Fudge.

Changes in eating out were described by Andy at the popular end of the market, and Shaun and Tom in their independent restaurants who were leaders and innovators in promoting the use of local foods, producers and dishes. They are significant in that they were not constrained by the traditions and conventions of other commercial outlets. The 1970s was identified as a period of change that affected food and tourism relationships as consumers became more adventurous and demanding in terms of their food. Later in the decade, traditional haute cuisine moved towards a new style of cookery and food presentation, *Nouvelle Cuisine*. However, there was also, in contrast to established culinary conventions an interest in wholefoods and the organic movement. At the end of the twentieth century it was noted that food was a significant part in lifestyle, and for some (including tourists) was a lifestyle choice.



### 6.8.2 Objective 2 To provide an overview of the development and evolution of tourism in Devon through the twentieth century

The respondents indicated some of the ways in which tourism had become a part of their business activity. An important example was that of farming where the provision of food and accommodation was shown to be significant to the economy of the farm (and subsequently) rural tourism. The interest in rural life and country holidays was identified as significant in the development of Devon's tourism in the literature reviews of Chapters two and three. The tourists' experience subsequently identified the farm and countryside as important attractions and influences, for some the farm was their first holiday encounter with Devon. The farm represented another lifestyle and a contrast for city dwellers and for some the holiday was the start of a host, guest and tourism *relationship*. For Daphne coming to Devon from London in 1924 for her first farm holiday it was remembered as:

‘...a fairly primitive farmhouse, everything was very whitewashed to get ready for the visitors, it was very nice because they gave you breakfast and an evening meal.’ (Daphne, age 92)

How did the providers recall what would become known as farm and rural tourism? Tony (broadcaster and local historian) recalled that it was at the beginning of the twentieth century that tourism started to develop commercially in Widecombe-in-the-Moor, a very popular and iconic tourist destination. The train and then motor transport enabled and encouraged tourists to visit for the day as well as longer holidays. From the 1920s there were cafes and gift shops in Widecombe. The annual stock fair now attracts up to 10,000 visitors:

‘.....it's fair to say this village lives 365 days a year on Widecombe Fair. People used to come out here and stay for three or four weeks at a time, for a few shillings a week they had board and lodgings. This included wonderful meals, fried breakfasts and plenty of cream and jam and farm produce. The majority of these people (providing board and lodging) would have been feeding guests with what they produced on their own farm, guests were fed from the land. ‘ (Tony, age 70)

Tony's extensive knowledge and recall covered much of the timescale demonstrating continuity and development in tourism and agriculture and their evolving relationship. His detailed descriptions of

the role of farming in tourism identified the link between the rural economy, tourism and food and the way in which this has evolved through the timescale. The attraction of the farming community to tourists and the example of Widecombe Fair which is regarded as Devonshire folklore, attracting tourists throughout the timescale as recounted by Tony.

Sarah demonstrated the importance of the farm in providing accommodation for tourists and that the guest-host relationship resulted in a commercial friendship over an extended timescale. The example of food such as the ubiquitous ploughman's lunch of artisan bread and local cheese was described as a means of connecting tourists with the landscape and a living community. This was not uncommon in hotels, restaurants, guest houses, that there is a tourism interrelationship between patron and patrons. Zhang, Inbakaran and Jackson, (2006: p. 198) support this form of relationship but emphasise the importance of a supportive local community in building such an affiliation. Cohen (1984: p. 379) refers to the relationships between hosts and tourists as encounters that are 'essentially transitory, non-repetitive and asymmetrical' and that the tourists and hosts are oriented toward achieving immediate gratification rather than pursuing a continuous relationship. This is often so in tourism but the examples of the continuous relationship provided by the respondents suggests that it is important, and not uncommon. Sarah's life and work histories focused on the farm in mid-Devon. As a child her mother had started farmhouse bed and breakfast with evening meals. The visitors came mostly from London one family returning once or twice a year for nearly forty years. Sarah recalled that, 'you could see people come down to Devon to be involved in a group of people,' in this case a rural farming community. Sarah noted that the family had returned at least twice a year for forty years and that parents, children and now grandchildren are visiting, 'they call it their darling buds of May experience!' That the holiday becomes experiential and an education was observed by Sarah (in the 1980s):

'....they (the tourists) used to come down and help on the farm, they'd do the harvest, haymaking, carrying the bales and having home-made pasties at lunch time.' (Sarah, age 35)

Later in the 1990s when her elder brother had taken over the running of the farm Sarah started a new venture developing and managing The London Inn. The tourist market is supported by the location of a caravan park and numerous holiday cottages in the area. The Two Moors Way, a walking route, attracts tourists to the area and represents recent tourism developments.

John's parents' farm provided holiday accommodation from the 1930s soon after his parents were married. John described the farm as stuck in the old ways, horses, never had a bathroom, or toilet, it was a real tough life. However it appears to have been a way of life that appealed to tourists from London. John's mother had advertised in Dalton's Weekly (a mass-circulation weekly newspaper) and he remembered that the same people kept coming back, they liked it so much, it was a small farm only about 60 acres, it was like another country wasn't it, it was a bit like the Larkins. (Another reference to H. E. Bates's *The Darling Buds of May*.) The time the visitors spent with John and his parents he recalled was a form of holiday for him, experiencing another lifestyle, a relationship between the rural and the urban.

The experience was not uncommon in Devon (and other rural areas) for many of the respondents too, the farm was an important holiday. The farm was sold, c.1980, but now provides self-catering holidays in the converted barns. The 'guests' ate with the family, the same food, *whatever was in season, all home-cooked*.

This was similar to the experience of Sarah in that the farm was an important part of the attraction. That these were working farms appears to have been an important part of their appeal to the tourists.

It was noted, the different terms used to describe tourists, guests, visitors, and holidaymakers and that in some cases the relationships were longstanding. The term *tourist* was not widely used among the rural and farming respondents. Both John and Sarah considered the tourists' holiday as a form of holiday for themselves, experiencing an exchange between host and guest. Where 'guests' had returned for numerous holidays a bond was established between the families. Two contrasting lifestyles, associated through tourism, is a positive example of the so-called demonstration effect.

The farm holiday represented an important form of tourism in Devon, enduring and also evolving as the fortunes of farming, the current generation of farm holidays were represented by Robin of '*Devon Farms – the natural holiday choice!*' Robin indicated that from 2000 since the foot-and-mouth outbreak farmers have realised 'using local food is a USP (unique selling proposition) efforts have been made in sustainable farming and food policy'. He suggested that he was part of a new farming community:

‘...a community of first generation incomers (farmers) who bring new skills and are aware of selling local food. We had a smallholding and created an idyllic image, our own food was part of that.’ (Robin, age 60)

It is important to note how the image of the farm has featured in each narrative, whether idyllic, or compared to H.E Bates’ 1958, *Darling Buds of May*.

Examples of tourism development were identified through farms, and in the example provided by Eileen Younghusband the small hotel. In the mid-twentieth century from 1948 to 1953 she and her husband ran the West Country Inn in North Devon. At a time of rationing and adversity Eileen recalled that there were few visitors in those days and in order to supplement the rations most of the vegetables were home-grown and other produce was local and everything home-made. It was interesting to read some of the appreciative comments from the visitor’s books c.1950 for example:

‘Devonshire is as nice as my country (Switzerland), Charming surroundings, good food, delicious cider (South Africa), peace, good food, an excellent lunch, and best ever on our tour, charming and excellent food.’ (Eileen, age 88)

Food at a period of shortage was obviously valued, but the location and service contributed to the experience. The West Country Inn recalled by Eileen as a lonely house in a lonely parish It is an interesting example of innovation and ingenuity in providing good food and accommodation; individual, home-grown elements of sustainability out of necessity. The food enjoyed by tourists at the inn was eclectic and featured Eileen’s classic French dishes using the best ingredients available for example:

‘.....my husband fished so we had trout and salmon and he shot snipe and woodcock, and clotted cream I learnt to make it myself, we did a lot of chicken dishes like the peasant dish coq au vin (chicken cooked with red wine), and truite meuniere, (trout fried in butter).’ (Eileen, age 88)

Half a century later it is locally grown and sourced produce that is the choice and expectation of many tourists, the work history recounted by Eileen serves as a prototype for many of the restaurants, small hotels and country house hotels that emerged post foot-and-mouth.

The growth of tourism in Devon through the timescale influenced businesses associated with the industry. Sweet makers Authers' and Bristow's are examples of firms producing tourist confectionery souvenirs, and reflect the augmentation of one business through another as the area attracted a high volume of tourists. Authers Devon Confections were started in the 1930s in Crediton and closed in the 1950s. Authers' was one of several small firms well known in Devon for the production of confectionery such as toffee and seaside rock that had a seemingly local connection and were popular with the tourists - *holidaymakers*. Frank Authers, nephew of the owner recalled the factory as very much a family business. One son was the firm's travelling salesman in the county and the daughters ran the sweet shop in Paignton selling Authers' Devon toffees and seaside rock to the holidaymakers, all the sweets were sold loose from jars or in tins. However it was Bristow's who developed a market for the confectionery souvenir in the form of fudge.

Bristow's of Devon started business in 1932 at the Palace Works in Crediton. The grandson of the founder, Frank Bristow, explained that changing consumer tastes in confectionery were perhaps responsible for the development and expansion of business. In the 1930s the market was characterised by traditional 'hard boilings', *boiled sweets, butterscotch, barley sugar, fruit drops and toffee*. Unlike Authers' with their own outlet most of Bristow's sales were through corner shops and sweet shops. The products moved with the times and in the 1950s tastes had moved to softer confectionery with the introduction of fudge, softer in texture than the traditional boiled sweets. Frank Bristow recalled that the addition of butter, milk and clotted cream from Devon greatly enhanced the popularity of fudge as a souvenir, as it was identified as one of the leading food souvenirs, (Table 6.1, p.229).

'.....we had a head and shoulders lead over other parts of the country due to a West country product, clotted cream. In the early days we made Devonshire Cream toffee, then it became Devonshire Clotted Cream toffee. Clotted cream is a magic word in the south west. There was a great marketing advantage in using clotted cream.' (Frank, age 63)

This is a good example of the way in which a business grows in order to meet the demands of the tourist market through what is ostensibly the souvenir. The added value of Devon was later used to

advantage in the sales of Clotted Cream Fudge. Fudge, the ice cream and soda and fast food were among the twentieth century culinary imports from America popular with tourists.

The examples of the farm, factory, and small hotel provide detail of the growth and development of tourism, and the role that food has played in this. The importance of life and work history emerges as significant in recording the evolution and changes in an industry. The interviews demonstrate that it is the work history of an individual and of the organisation that contribute to the understanding of a contextual and evolutionary process.

### **6.8.3 Objective 3 To identify past and current provision of food for tourists visiting the county of Devon**

Experiences were recalled from the 1920s, from the days of ice creams and afternoon teas to the Michelin Star dining experience. The life and work experiences of the respondents provided detail of food in the tourism environment throughout the timescale to the beginning of the twenty-first century. As most of the respondents had been connected with the industry for periods in excess of twenty years comparisons between eras were provided. This was demonstrated by Andy, owner of a popular tearoom in Exeter. In the 1980s he recalled that in terms of food:

‘...two things the tourists were looking for were carveries and cream teas, when visitors come to Britain they expect to have afternoon tea.’ (Andy, age 50)

Although the carvery has, in many instances, been replaced by other food outlets the afternoon tea remains a popular meal with tourists. Andy noted:

‘We have just gone into Sarah Cohen’s Places to take tea in Britain, it’s not unusual for the place to be full of Japanese, and we have one of our menus written in Japanese.’ (Andy, age 50)

In the early twentieth century afternoon tea was regarded as an affordable treat, something special, an experience that could be rustic or refined whether in the country or town and was remembered as a

family occasion. In many ways it is still regarded as something special, perhaps now it is a somewhat nostalgic reminder of an earlier and more leisurely lifestyle.

Julien, manager at the Royal Clarence (*England's first hotel*), identified recent changes in the provision of food and the significance of celebrity in endorsing food values. As chairman of the local hoteliers' association he observed a move from nominated suppliers to local sourcing and local produce. Michael Caines, the innovative celebrity chef stated he is keen to promote the larder of the South West. Consumers' interests, and expectations in food quality and the environment were suggested as recent changes in the provision of food. This is important as the quality of the ingredients in Devon was identified by tourists as an important attraction and motivation. It was also considered a key factor in the choice of food as a souvenir.

The five eras of the timescale were recalled but it was the 1970s that were identified as a time of change. Tom, in referring to Gidleigh Park (an exclusive country house hotel) suggested that when it opened in the late 1970s it was, 'the first time that there was a gastronomic reason to visit Devon, and Shaun, food is now a hobby, eating out and dining at home.' Ruth of Combe House (country house hotel) the 1970s 'were an era of change'. Ruth suggested that at this time there was less overseas travel and a strong interest in hunting, shooting and fishing:

'.....It was the hotel that provided food not readily available elsewhere not the supermarket, and not the dishes you would make at home, so it makes it a reason for coming out doesn't it?' (Ruth, age 50)

It was an important comment as differentiation is crucial in the attraction of food and service. Julien of Abode Hotels (Royal Clarence) commented that differentiation in terms of the service delivery and experience was regarded as important in the development of the hospitality product, *something you can't get elsewhere*.

An important change in the provision of food has been in the opportunities for eating out and the emergence of new culinary styles. Interests in food are reflected in menus that provide details of the provenance and credibility of ingredients. The eras of the timescale provide a focus for investigation identifying times and factors that influence change.

**6.8.4 Objective 4 To explain trends and patterns in the provision of food for tourists in Devon**



The evolving interest in food as part of the tourism experience was recognised by those involved in the provision of food. Retailers and those in the hospitality industry have discerned changes in the market especially since foot-and-mouth in 2001.

Cheese maker and retailer Elise identified changes in the tourist market as including, 'out of the usual season tourists, they're coming down (to Devon) for shorter breaks'. The expansion of food festivals, holiday homes, consumers that are knowledgeable and interested in food, and in 'cheese an artisan product with some mystery' were also identified as important changes in the tourist (and visitor) market.

Rosemary, food writer and researcher, identified changes in the attitudes and interests of tourists (and consumers) towards food as crucial to the evolutionary process:

'.....Devon has always been famous for its cream and cider, but people are more savvy today and want more. Food is the most fascinating part of tourism; you can only look at old stones for so long, food is a unifier.' (Rosemary, age 55)

Food and tourism demonstrates an increased specialisation and demand for knowledge from consumers. It is regarded from the interest in health, quality, ethics and production of food, and the quest for the authentic and local.

The interest in food as a souvenir, food bought at the place and point of production, not on-line, extends the experience of the holiday and is linked to the interest in local products. The food tourism souvenir can be considered on a longitudinal scale. The questionnaires and interviews demonstrate a convergence in that the scope of food souvenirs has expanded as the interests in local food and its production have developed. This has become a somewhat specialised activity with tourists searching for the local and authentic. Two contrasting examples were provided by Elise of Country Cheeses and Frank, Bristow's of Devon. Elise commented that although they have a website and sell on-line they find that tourists preferred to buy at the point of sale and place of production and that consumers (tourists):

‘.....come into the shop and have the experience (service, relationship with the staff and product tasting) of being in this environment, its (cheese) a bit like wine it has a bit of mystery to it.’  
(Elise, age 45)

In contrast Frank identified the appeal of nostalgia in the factory-produced confectionery souvenir market. He suggested that most of the products are bought for other people, ‘given rather than consumed’, and, ‘there is a nostalgia for the products we remember as kids’, and that a different style of outlet for mass market souvenirs emerged in the late twentieth century:

‘.....theme parks, game parks and garden centres like Bernaville (close to Exeter) other products have come along on the tail of confectionery like clotted cream biscuits which we buy in, preserves and cheeses.’

Bristow’s had also looked at bringing back nostalgic designs:

‘...things that show the country goodness that the West Country represents, the goodness of the country, the concept of how grandma used to make it.’ (Frank, age 63)

These are important illustrations of the evolution of the tourism food souvenir market and provide examples of continuity in that food is purchased as a memento but that the souvenir is changing and becoming, for some, part of the food experience. The pattern of food as a souvenir is constant but trends in food consumption change.

Cookery schools in Devon (and the South West) represent a trend in the evolving interest in food and have expanded from the late twentieth century. They were identified as tourist attractions by two schools in Devon. The Ashburton Cookery School attracts a wide range of pupils, many of whom combine their course with a holiday in the area, often with partners or family. ‘Manna from Devon’, in Dartmouth is a specialist cookery school differentiated by its informality. Through its day and short courses the school regards food as a means of engaging tourists with local produce and craft skills. The Dartmouth food festival has enhanced its reputation as a destination for food lovers and food tourists:

‘.....we can justifiably claim to be a world class foodie hot spot, we promote ourselves with food, and you can do a lot with food tourism, the expectation is that food is part of the tourism experience and is on the tourism agenda. [info@mannafromdevon.com](mailto:info@mannafromdevon.com) ‘

The cookery school is an example of food tourism and Rosemary described it as a cluster, ‘it pulled in other things – food, wine, producers, farmers and crafts’, as indicated by the Ashburton Cookery School and Manna from Devon.

The food culture of the late twentieth century and the emergence of consumers with a ‘serious interest in food’, *foodies* was recognised by the industry. Marie of Brend Hotels described their patrons, including tourists’ as, ‘more discerning, demanding and aware consumers.’ This awareness of ethical and environmental issues pertaining to food and the knowledge (albeit superficial) of foods possibly contributes to a consumer demand, and ultimately influences change in the provision of food. Julien Wilkinson of Abode Hotels observed that guests’ expectations in terms of locally sourced foods had changed and that these were now, ‘assumed to be provided, and not requested.’

Marie (Brend Hotels) conceded that consumers were aware of local foods but that the term was somewhat vague and not clearly defined. The changing food culture was identified as a reason for going out for food, eating out, or purchased to eat elsewhere or for a gift, for entertainment, and education. Food festivals were regarded as important attractions not only for tourists but as a means of promoting the county.

References to the past are widely used in tourism. Aviva referred to Agatha Christie and the cream tea festival in Torquay. She suggested that, ‘festivals integrate food, it (food) enhances the product and especially when you combine food with something quirky and interesting’, Aviva considered that food and festivals such as music events ‘give the opportunity to brand out food to the event, local food ties with the area’. The area is now promoting itself as The English Riviera. Food is embedded in tourism, and is an important Unique Selling Proposition. Aviva commented that the images of food and tourism are evocative and food is embedded in the tourists’ memories *for ever*;

‘....the images of food and tourism are evocative and food is also linked strongly to memory. Many tourists will take away specific memories associated with food and the place of consumption,

Devon, Torquay, and the café or shop. Images too, evoke memories and stimulate interest in the destination. People associate memories with foods and particular restaurants. People grab a portion of fish and chips and they sit here (on the harbour front) and they're as happy as Larry and you know that's going to be embedded in their memory for ever, sitting at the harbour with a bag of fish and chips. I've never really sat back and thought about the whole essence of how it's all evolved. You think about the Grand Tour. I remember they couldn't wait to go to Italy to try certain foods. Even then there was the attraction for food, to eat particular types of meals. I've got friends who travel to India because they want true Indian food – even though Britain is now apparently the home of the curry.' (Aviva, age 35)

Trends and patterns in the provision of food indicate an abiding interest in local and traditional foods. Throughout the timescale where these are provided they attract the attention of many tourists. It is clear from the interviews that it is the range and quality of ingredients in Devon that attract. The ways in which industry provides and promotes food in hotels and restaurants tends to reflect contemporary trends and may appear eclectic and devoid of any traditional dishes such as *Squab Pie* – originally made with young pigeons. These are inclined to be rarely encountered in commercial outlets. Other than cream teas and junkets the range of dishes is limited but it is the extensive range of ingredients which are appreciated and acknowledged to be of high quality.

## **6.9 Conclusions**

The interviews and questionnaires prompted many memories and holiday stories. These were memories of work, career, livelihood and production, not all of leisure and pleasure, but they were at times equally emotive, recalling the past. Ladkin, (1999: p. 45) states that the fundamental attraction of the life history method is that a lapse of time tells the researcher much about the present. In the example of respondents drawn from industry the researcher is provided with work history in addition to the individual's life history, both rich with memories and anecdotes. A major benefit of work history analysis is that it allows the researcher to focus on work processes and labour market changes (Ibid p.41), and these were evident in the work histories of numerous tourism businesses notably those which had been in operation over several decades. The example of Bristow's of Devon (confectionery) showed how changing technology, innovations, work practices and consumer tastes had impacted on the food souvenir market illustrated through the introduction of fudge.

Tourism and food often represented diversification and supplementary sources of income and economic activity. This was important in rural areas and represented a rural division of labour where the farmer's wife provided hospitality for tourists as a valuable source of income and independence. It was evident that the food and tourism relationship was significant to the county as an employer, both full-time and seasonal.

Trends in consumer patterns of food consumption could be identified from the respondents' life and work histories, extending from eating with the family in farmhouse accommodation to guest houses, hotels, cafes and restaurants. The trend in eating out could also be followed from the eras of the timescale by industry and consumers. This was, to an extent, verified in some of the archive materials, especially the advertisements for commercial hospitality outlets in the guidebook and resort brochure.

It was important to discern that businesses evolve to meet the demands of consumers, in this case tourists, and that tastes and expectations change over time. In addition to hotels and restaurants the examples of farming, dairy, specialist producers, and artisan producers demonstrated diversification and innovation. The vineyard, farm and cheese maker are now popular tourist attractions providing high quality food and the opportunity for tourists to experience the process of production. The example of Sharpham Vineyard and Cheese Dairy with its cafe, shop and tours, in South Devon

demonstrated the trend for food-based holidays, a renewed interest in food, a food culture and the appeal of artisan production,

‘....people like the idea of hearing how the vines are grown, and that we are small, they see the ladies in the dairy doing the work by hand, not a machine, not mass production.’ (Laura, age 25)

Laura commented that the Sharpham managing director had recently (2009) compared Devon to Tuscany, not as a tourist destination per se but in terms of food, *food, wine and beautiful countryside*. In contrast to earlier comparisons in the timescale, when Devon was compared to other destinations in terms of tourism, this represents an evolutionary change as it is compared to Tuscany as a food tourism destination.

Agriculture and food production are important to the tourism economy and the experience economy and are inextricably linked to the perception of Devon as a tourist destination. Sometimes romantic and nostalgic, the tourism dimensions of Devon’s landscape will be developed in the case study chapter 7.

The growth in food festivals and farmers’ markets was regarded as significant in promoting local food production and attracting visitors. These were sometimes described as a celebration or showcasing opportunity for local producers markets and festivals were regarded by tourists and producers as positive food encounters and relevant to tourism.

In examining the evolving relationships between food and tourism, the demand for high quality *eating out* (also known as haute cuisine and fine dining later in the timescale) was seen to have grown from the 1970s and the opening of Michelin star restaurants giving tourists (consumers) a gastronomic reason for visiting the county. In Devon there are country house hotels which can offer the ‘West End’ quality and standards. However, in the country, as in Devon, these are differentiated by the staged authenticity weekend parties, shooting, fishing and other country pursuits provided for city dwellers. That the county is accessible yet has retained elements of its remoteness at the point of consumption, for example at Gidleigh Park and Combe House, was regarded as a strength by tourists. It was interesting to reflect that comments and descriptions in earlier decades of the timescale also emphasise the importance of Devon’s remote yet accessible location.

The timescale identifies points and arbiters of change in the context of tourism, as in the 1970s. Up to this time the industry was dominated by earlier styles of cookery, versions of *pseudo-French* dishes. As lifestyles changed and with increased overseas travel, food became more adventurous, global and eclectic. By the turn of the twenty-first century specialist gourmet/food guidebooks are issued including the locally produced Trencherman's guide, indicative of eating out leisure activity.

The 1970s were identified by some respondents (tourists and producers) as an era of change. This was attributed in part to new styles of restaurant, dining, and the frequency of eating out for pleasure and leisure. Consumers were influenced by foreign holidays and a wider range of global foods in the expanding supermarkets and food halls. At this time the National Trust restaurants and tearooms responded to a consumer-driven demand for food which was considered to enhance the visitor experience. The mainstay of the food provision emphasised the importance of the ubiquitous cream tea as a regional speciality, but one that is now available nationwide.

Traditional foods and produce are important and that these have evolved through the timescale. It is the quality of ingredients in the county that is highly regarded and that these are connected to the landscape. Some products and skills have been lost through the twentieth century and its move to mass production and consumerism, however it is important to observe the ways in which artisan skills and products have been revived and the role that these have in the experience of tourism, and food tourism. Trewin (2010: pp. 21) links tourism to the traditions of the productive landscape of Devon and suggests that 'agriculture and cookery are locked into a cycle' which appeals to tourists interested in their food. The demand for good food and also for traditional or what is perceived to be authentic to the county is crucial to the evolution of the food and tourism relationship.

Respondents suggest that the county is diverse in its attractions yet appears to be unified by the food it produces, and promotes using the description and definition *Devon*..... Food is consumed by tourists at the place of production, in Devon and is also consumed as a souvenir. Bristow's confectionery, produced and packaged for the tourist as an affordable and personalised edible memento, is a typical example of products emphasising Devon's food, in this case clotted cream and butter.

Elements of heritage and nostalgia are vital not only in the marketing of Devon as a tourist destination, but are evident as consumers search for the original and the traditional, and increasingly

the local during their holiday. Comments observing the timelessness and unchanging indicate that these are important in attracting tourists but coexist with the contemporary, and modern, elements of the past in combination with today's amenities. This was a recurring theme in the promotion of the county that it provided the best of two worlds, the old and new.

Consumer trends and interests are important and it is apparent that consumers evolve and change as does the industry. This was demonstrated in the awareness of health in relation to food and diet and has been an important factor in the evolution of Devon's tourism. Respondents frequently commented on the quality of the food in Devon:

‘.....It's the quality of the ingredients you have down there, or the richness of the pasture and the breeds of cattle that contributed to the reputation of the county for its dairy produce and livestock.’ (Pauline, age 80)

These interests are of great importance to the food and tourism relationships as the ethical, environmental and sustainable are significant in today's tourism.

Changes in the consumers' interests in food were identified from the early twentieth century. Hall and Sharples (2003: pp. 10-11) present categories of food tourists ranging from no interest to specialist interests but these are not represented historically. Tourists have long demonstrated their interests in food but late in the twentieth century they tend to be regarded as more discerning, knowledgeable, aware, sophisticated, demanding, and experienced as consumers. The holiday practice and propensity has changed through the period of the twentieth century timescale. From factory weeks, day trips, outings and annual holidays to frequent short breaks, second homes, timeshare and Devon as a special interest, and short break destination.

The tourism industry has changed through the period of the timescale. This was discerned frequently by respondents, both from the tourists' and industry's perspectives. From the days of genteel and mass-market holiday resorts to the experience economy, celebrification, heritage and eco issues, the industry has had to demonstrate its responsiveness to the demands of consumers in order to survive. It is an industry that is constantly evolving, but elements of continuity are at its core and its relationships with food. The rich landscape and its agricultural heritage, the quality and abundance of the food produced, these have attracted tourists throughout the timescale.



The respondents as tourists and those as providers of food have distinguished various associations between Devon, food and tourism. These will be the focus of chapter 7 where Devon is presented as a case study and will show how the county is associated with food in the context of tourism.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Devon: food producer and tourist destination**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

Devon's role as a tourist destination, its location and evolving role as a destination for food is central to this thesis. However, it is the way in which these have evolved through the twentieth century that will be presented in this chapter. References to resorts and food are included developing the historic and evolutionary dimension of the county.

The aims of the chapter are to show how food is linked to Devon as the county has developed as a tourist destination through the twentieth century, and to explain the role that food has played in the growth of two industries, tourism and food production. As shown below it is objectives 1 and 4 that are the major focus of this chapter;

1 To investigate and establish the relationships between food and tourism in Devon.

(Chapters 6 and 7- The case study)

4 To explain trends and patterns in the provision of food for tourists in Devon. (Chapter 7 the case study)

The background to the chapter refers to the development and identification of food destinations. The concept of a *food destination* is apposite to the chapter (and thesis) but the way in which these have developed is crucial in the understanding of Devon's aspirations as a place to visit for its food. This is then presented in the context of Devon and includes the experiences of those interviewed in the process of data collection.

A food destination is shaped by many influences over time. History, tradition, culture and industry each contribute to its attraction and attributes. The evolution of food attraction in association with place is identified by Hall and Sharples (2003: p.10) who state that the 'wider region is a consideration in the attractiveness of a destination'. In the example of Devon this is important as its location and varied landscape is an important attraction in addition to its agricultural value. Food tourism is suggested as a relatively recent development and way of experiencing other cultures through food, (Hall and Sharples 2003, and Kivela and Crofts 2009).

Devon has a long tradition of food production and tourism, and together these have contributed to the county's evolution as a food destination. Reference to Devon and its food was identified in the literature review in Chapter 3 through a range of archival sources, for example guide books, novels and the narratives of travel writers including Harris (1907), Williamson (1941), and Stark (1951).

Yin (1984: p.8 -14) suggests that a case study allows a subject to be studied in an historical context as it relies on 'many of the techniques of a history' but adds two sources of evidence. Firstly, direct observation of the events being studied and notably 'interviews of the persons involved in the events'. The case study allows a wide range of evidence to be used, in the example of Devon, food and tourism archival documents and interviews. Devon does not appear to have been studied in this way, as a specific, longitudinal, and food-based case study.

The case study aims to show how the interest in food and tourism has evolved through the twentieth century in Devon. It uses questions both exploratory, what, who and where and explanatory, how and why, and when to investigate the evolution of the relationships between food and tourism. Using a case study enables the researcher to present the advancement of a food culture through the example of a specific area.

The advantages of studying the county (or a destination) using case study techniques provides an opportunity to focus on a food-producing region with a strong identity. Utilising Devon in the context of food and tourism with a timescale of the twentieth century adds a vital historical perspective. This can be used in the development of the evolutionary dimension of the case study research. Research objective 4, To explain trends and patterns in the provision of food for tourists in Devon is the focus of chapter 7. However, the case study is important in establishing the relationships that tourists develop with food, therefore will contribute to the investigation of Research Objective 2. In order to

explain trends and patterns in the consumption of food in the context of tourism involves utilising an historical dimension. This is derived from a combination of the interview and archival data.

The chapter opens with an introduction to Devon as a tourist destination; as a consequence Devon is then presented in terms of its associations with food and tourism. These are derived from the interviews conducted with tourists and those involved in the production of food for tourists. The case study of Devon aims to explain why the county is regarded as a destination for food tourists and to describe how this has evolved.

The relationships between food and tourism, and the provision of food for tourists through the timescale in Devon are connected to place and it these which are the focus of this chapter. These will be presented using Devon as a case study.

This chapter draws on the data collected during interviews with tourists and those involved in the production of food for tourist consumption. Kivela and Crotts (2009: pp. 163 – 166) state that gastronomy is ‘an important attribute in the development of niche travel and niche destinations’. However, they suggest that little is known about culinary tourists, their evolution and gastronomy, and its linkage to tourism. It is the narrative which is described as a means of enabling the researcher to investigate the travellers’ experiences of gastronomy whilst on holiday. Gastronomy is suggested as representing both an adventure and cultural encounter. Through the narratives derived from the interviews these were found to evolve, over time and in the life cycle. Thus the elements of adventure and discovery, something new, different and exciting in childhood could be identified in later stages as looking for the sophisticated and special. With culture these are an important part of the holiday attraction.

For example one respondent (childhood holiday, 1960s) described her first holiday in Devon and the enduring impression of the farmhouse table set for tea:

‘My lasting impression is of a cottage where, in the living room, which seemed filled by the large table laid for us with an enormous tea – sherry trifle, and home-made scones, we asked the couple was this all for us? (the food) it was different to home-cooked, it was rich and lush. I remember the ice cream was yellow, and the clotted cream.’

The chapter concludes with an overview of Devon's food and tourism connections utilising examples derived from the interviews. These include agriculture, tourism attractions and commercial hospitality outlets.

## **7.2 Devon as a food destination**

Food destinations in tourism are not new and the attraction of food as a component of the tourism experience is well established. Numerous examples of the attraction of food were included in Chapters 5 and 6. A particular food (or wine) and occasion associated with it is frequently encountered in tourism. Wine harvest, tastings, fishing and hunting for truffles are popular examples of food events associated with tourism. In France and Italy there are numerous examples of food and place associations, such as Lyon, Tuscany. These destinations have long attracted tourists and are exemplars in food destination developments. In Britain and in Devon there are examples of food events and occasions provided throughout the timescale, some such as Widecombe Fair and Tavistock Goosey Fair are much older and steeped in tradition, but their significance in terms of tourism is relatively recent and indicative of an emerging food culture and interest in events which incorporate food.

As an example of a food destination Sharpham Vineyard in South Devon equated Devon with Tuscany, in terms of ingredients and climate. This is an interesting comparison and denotes the current equation of Devon with other food cultures and destinations. It would appear that during the five eras of the research Devon has drawn comparisons to other destinations, notably the Mediterranean, usually with references to its mild climate and scenery but not food. Perhaps this reflects a consumer trend in twenty-first century food consumption which connects food to the landscape rather than the earlier references to climate and sunshine:

‘...there are foodie holidays and foodie weekends now (2008). The Royal Castle at Dartmouth has one next March, a meal on arrival at the hotel, then a food trail visiting producers, wine tasting on the Saturday at Sharpham, then Riverford farm where's there a field kitchen and finally Mike's Smokehouse in Dartmouth. Our managing director recently spoke in Exeter about food and wine and compared Devon to Tuscany, food, wine and beautiful countryside'. (Laura, age 25, Cheese and wine producer, 2008)

It is important to note that the description refers to three destinations with food associations, Dartmouth, the Sharpham Estate, and Riverford farm. These present food as a contemporary attraction but draw on elements of tradition and heritage, for example landscape, agriculture and an historic hotel.

The emergence of an area or resort as a food destination may be considered as significant in terms of its economic growth, regeneration, revival and renaissance. Food, and food in conjunction with tourism, thus becomes an important economic and social tool in the Tourism Area Life Cycle, the cyclical process developed by Butler (1980: pp. 5 - 12). Sharpley, (2003: pp. 15-16) suggests that such a process is important in considering the evolution of 'the tourism system' and that tourism is in many ways a reflection of society and the way in which it evolves. This statement could be extended to suggest that tourism reflects the wider interests of society, for example, health, leisure and food. Sharpley suggests that the functionalist approach places tourism in its role in the functioning of society as a whole or views tourism as a social system. In the context of Devon it is one that includes the production and provision of food.

Novelli et al, (2006: p.1144) indicate the resurgence of interest in the destination and the qualities of health, a healthy lifestyle and tourism. This is of particular interest in Devon which has attracted the interests of those concerned with health, it is suggested that 'busy and stressful lifestyles' are associated with the growth of health consciousness and that this includes holiday choices. This represents an important stage in the development of the relationship between food and tourism and its connection with place. Within the timescale health and holidays have been identified as interconnected and this evolves throughout the timescale. During the early twentieth century perceptions of health and tourism were linked to the benefits of fresh air, sunshine and good food. These were considered important in fighting specific diseases such as respiratory complaints, (Oldfield 1906, Black c.1900). By the early twenty-first century health and tourism are associated with wellness and the role of food is central to well-being, eating out and the experience of leisure. It is interesting to observe that the interest in health and tourism is constant through the twentieth century (and is indeed important in the story of Devon's tourism from the eighteenth century) and arguably the significance of *health* is tacit in tourism.

From the beginning of the twentieth century, when it is often described in terms of its *Riviera*-like qualities, to its promotion as a health and short break resort there are many features identified in its

promotion. These include; landscape, heritage, folklore, culture and its food. The Great Western Railway used the Cornish Riviera and English Riviera in its publications, *Mais*, 1928, *Holiday Haunts*, 1939. Ward Lock's *Dartmoor* (c1925: p.45) features advertisements for resort hotels including Roslin Hall, Torquay, *the finest private hotel in the English Riviera*.

The county possesses a rich and varied landscape, much of which is connected to food production whether farm, river, coast or orchard. These are in turn linked to tourism; from farm tourism to sport and recreation there are mutual associations with food. Their evolution is the focus of the chapter. Linking the landscape to food suggested by Trewin (2010) as significant to the history and heritage of the county, a county characterised by a rich and varied landscape that has long appealed to tourists. The landscape evolves and is regarded as a working backdrop providing food and leisure facilities.

Landscape is an important component of tourism, one that is unique, defining in terms of its rural attraction one that in the case of Devon is linked to the production and association with food. Devon's landscape is linked to food production and tourism, the appeal of the rural. Features of the Devonshire landscape were noted by each respondent as significant, these ranged from its fertile red soil to beaches and moorland. For example some descriptions refer to place and some to geographical features, together creating a lasting impression and contribution to the enjoyment of the holiday;

Respondents, both supply and tourists emphasised the importance of location and landscape as a component of the tourism attraction in Devon:

‘.....Country Life did a report two or three years ago (c.2004) on their readers' favourite counties and Devon was number 1. Devon is thought of as having Dartmoor and Exmoor and the choice of both coasts. It's idyllic here, but we're also only 20 minutes from Exeter. Most of the people who come here don't live by the sea so they like to go on coastal walks, and Dartmoor we're just so lucky to have a huge, rugged open space that people can retreat to, to unwind and explore.’ (Ruth, age 50, hotelier)

‘.....It's the first seaside holiday that I can remember, the black swans and a swathe of grass for the children. The first time I went I suddenly saw the red fields, the glaring redness of the fields

still staggers me now, it amazes me. When we came back from Ceylon we lived at Southsea but I can't remember anything of that at all.' (Talbot, age 92, childhood holiday Dawlish late 1920s)

"We enjoyed it so much, we'd forgotten how lovely it is down there, (Devon, 2008) for six nights we did not move the car, we walked, and used local transport. The scenery, fresh air and food really made the holiday". (Sheena, age 50, tourist)

'We stayed in Appledore and visited Clovelly, Barnstaple and North Devon, it was the first time I had seen thatched cottages.' (Rose, age 76, tourist)

'We've just had a wet summer (2009), but at the end of the day people who come to visit Devon - they don't really mind the rain if they realise our landscape looks that way because of it. They always say, Oh! the landscape it's fantastic, it's a landscape with a life going on in it.'

(Sarah, age 35, restaurateur)

These were memories that affirmed the significance of the county as a destination noted for its rich and appealing landscape. However this is connected to heritage, folklore, legend and food. Grief, Rauscher and Songerath (2011: p.25) describe this as a supplier landscape, one that could involve tourists working or helping on the farm or partaking in other rural activities.



### 7.3 Heritage, folklore and legend

Heritage, folklore and legend contribute to the culture of the region. The heritage of Devon is significant in tourism, throughout its time as a tourist destination it is heritage, or aspects of its heritage that have attracted tourists. From Shaw's account c.1795 in which food is featured it is as an addition to the visit which focused on history and the natural heritage of Devon's coast, moor and countryside. Later accounts appear in guides and souvenir publications such as *Murray's 1859 Guide to Devon and Cornwall* and *Crossing's Guide to Dartmoor* and Crossing's 1888, *Amid Devon's Alps*. The legend and folklore add, and reinforce, myth and mystery which have an appeal in tourism for example, King Arthur, Widecombe Fair or the story of clotted cream with its association of place and food. Folklore and legend are embedded in the attraction and mystery of a destination and in the case of Devon there are associations with food.

The National Trust is influential in the presentation of heritage in the context of tourism. It is responsible for the preservation and conservation of buildings and landscape. It is important to note that food is frequently regarded as an important part of the visitor experience and quest for the authentic culinary heritage, Hughes, (1995), Bessiere, (1998) and Waitt, (2000). The National Trust's commitment to supporting local produce and agriculture was endorsed by HRH The Prince of Wales in 2008, (See Appendix 4).

‘...people think of the National Trust as being British, we have regional dishes and bakery and bread. The Trust could be at the front of this in staff training, the label of regional food has to change and become acceptable, now the farmers' markets support artisan producers who are adding value to their product to make it different.’(Gillian, age 40, catering advisor)

Throughout the timescale of the research it is evident that aspects of heritage have been influential in attracting tourists to Devon. The early twentieth century Exeter city guides emphasised the importance of the history of Exeter and the county. However, by the early twenty-first century the guides focus on retailing supported by elements of heritage and local history in attracting visitors to the city. There is an important culinary development where restaurants and local produce are promoted as amenities and attractions and food presented in the context of a regions heritage, in this

case agriculture. Food and heritage are entwined and this was frequently encountered in tourist guidebooks and the interviews.

Food is of importance in culture, and this may be investigated at a national and regional level. The relationship between food and culture is frequently identified in tourism. Sharpley (2003: p. 5-12) states that the culture of a society is 'the combination of its values, morals, behavioural norms, dress, cuisine, artefacts and language'. Tourism and indeed food tourism does reflect the culture of a society and aspects of its history which support Sharpley's proposition that the culture of a society is dynamic and may change over time. Therefore culture represents the evolution of a society and aspects of this are of importance in tourism including cuisine which embodies food. A local cuisine is influenced by the ingredients available in the district. In Devon these are wide ranging including; fish, meat, game, fruit and vegetables and dairy produce. They function not only as food ingredients but are often regarded as attractions, for example vineyard tours, fishing and food festivals (see table 7.2).

Boniface (1998: pp. 746 -7) proposes that the culture tourists bring with them whilst on holiday is their own and that the culture with which they will be in contact will be that of the host country. It is suggested that the culture at a destination is ultimately a 'blend of local, tourist and residual' (residue of the tourists' culture). The motivation of tourists to travel and experience another culture (or elements of it) is discernible in terms of food where tourists are motivated by the desire to escape the mundane routine of their 'day-to-day', but to experience what might be considered to be the mundane and daily routine of others which appears to be different, new and a contrast to the life temporarily left behind.

Literature also connects food with place and its associations with Devon appeal to many tourists. There are often references to food in novels, guidebooks and scholarly works. Whether ingredients such as apples, fish and meat or traditional dishes, for example, junket and apple dumplings food demonstrates interconnectedness between food, culture, landscape, heritage and folklore. These are important references as they indicate the significance of food to the economy and history of the county and were identified in chapter 3.

In many ways food unifies history, culture, folklore and geography yet continues to evolve. This was demonstrated through the timescale of the research, indicating that food moves with the times. Climate change has contributed to the renaissance of vineyards in the county in addition to the introduction of new food crops for example chillies.

#### **7.4 The Farm**

The daily routine of the farm is an important attraction for many tourists in visiting an area such as Devon. Farm accommodation and holidays featured throughout the timescale. Examples were provided in the interviews of the curiosity of tourists in the daily routine and work of the farm and that it provided a contrast to the life and work of city dwellers. It was interesting to observe that some of the farmers were interested in the lifestyle of the visitors who dressed and spoke differently. It is a form of cultural exchange and demonstration effect, an example of the blending of local, tourist and residual cultures. Robbins et al (2006: p. 1) state that 'Devon remains a strong livestock area with almost three-quarters of the holdings being cattle, sheep or dairying.' With an increase in farm shops and farmers' markets the local as well as tourist population has access to farms and their produce in the region. This is often featured in promotional materials.

Daphne, (aged 92) who had first visited Devon as a young child with her elder sister Ismay in the 1920s, recalled the attraction of being in Devon, and the contrasts between their 'farmer and his daughters' hosts in Bovey Tracey in comparison to the family estate in Wiltshire:

'.....and I can remember now the array of sweets laid out on a Sunday night, no less than about six sweets and cold collations, boiling hot soup and that sort of thing. The food was a great contrast to the farm (Bovey), all of it had come from the farm - you'd got the home farm at Weston so all the butter and cream and cheese and meat and vegetables came from the farm, there were umpteen gardeners. But I probably enjoyed the farm (holiday in Bovey) better. I enjoyed the high spots. Then one year Ismay took me down to Stickwick farm which is still taking guests I think. In those days (1930s) it was run by a man called Harwick – he'd been in an accident. I remember the farm being worked by these nice 'would be public school boys' who were epileptic and therefore couldn't go to public school, they were very nice. That was fun because there were other people staying there. The food was different I remember that, things with cream and people said 'Oh, Devonshire cream'. It was very much more shoppy and commercial.' (Daphne, age 92)

Later in the 1970s she returned to Devon staying for Bed and Breakfast at Belstone with a couple who had been recommended by friends staying in Sidmouth. Through the life stories of proprietors and guests the significance of food emerged as a culinary thread and attraction. It was recalled as a cycle of holidays and destinations that had started on a farm in Bovey Tracey:

‘In Sidmouth I got to know the people who stayed at Belstone and who then recommended it. But I remember having a meal at the York, it was before they were amalgamated with the Faulkner, we looked down on them we thought they were dust. The food was very good at the Royal York so I went back, by that time I was an habitu  , they kept my room. The food was very good, and that was what took me back.’

In Belstone a moorland village close to Okehampton she stayed at the house run by the husband and wife team (Mr and Mrs McCulloch):

‘She’d started off as under housemaid and worked her way up to head housemaid and she married him (her husband) he was the chauffeur. She got up to being lady’s maid to whoever it was. They built their house just before the war (WW2) they wanted to have a tearoom on the side, but were never given permission to finish it. She was a superb cook..... They had two daughters Ida and Blanche, Blanche did the same thing as her parents. Mrs McCulloch would call us visitors, but not so with Blanche, they were guests. Nothing was too much trouble for them.’ (Daphne, age 92)

Such examples are important in the identification of trends and patterns in tourism and food consumption as Devon was a destination for half a century, from early childhood to retirement. In this example detail of farm holidays and hospitality, resort hotels, guest houses, activities and food is presented.

The experience of the farm from the perspective of the farmer’s wife was provided by Tony, (broadcaster, farmer and raconteur). References to the rural economy and its importance in tourism in the early twentieth century emphasised the significance of the farmer and his wife. In response to a question about the attraction of the rural way of life to the tourist, detail of daily life was recalled including the tradition of the cream tea:

‘.....Oh, yes some would go out to the farm and see Mrs Jones (the farmer’s wife) go out to the fowl house and pick up six or seven eggs, or kill a chicken for them for their dinner. Everything was fresh. Tuff buns, some people called them tuff cakes like a little round bap, and the texture was lighter than bread, and sweet and soft, splits were used for your traditional cream tea, yeast buns. And there’s always the proverbial question of what do you put on first, the jam or the cream. We’ve always put the cream on first. If you put the jam on first it would be like putting jam on bread and then trying to spread the butter on top. They did say you put the cream on twice as thick as the bread. Jams locally made, blackberry, blackcurrant, raspberry jam whatever fruit you could get your hands on. Then it turned into Golden Syrup, we called it ‘Thunder and Lightning’. An old farmer I knew, he was called Farmer Caunter, as children we used to ask him, ‘what did you have for breakfast today Mr. Caunter? (We knew what he would answer)’fruits of the land, fruits of the land’ and that was bread, cream and honey. It’s a human story but those sort of memories are wonderful really.....’ (Tony, age 70)

The rural economy and farm economy was explained as including the provision of bed and breakfast, and cream teas:

‘....in the 1930s, bed and breakfast would be about 3/6d (17.5p), Mr and Mrs Brook I told you about they had full board, B&B, packed lunch and evening meal and it was 4/6d (22.5p) a day.’

‘.....the other thing people tend to forget is the farmer’s wife never, or very rarely had any money of her own but what she was allowed to do (was) things she grew in the garden, all the money she could generate from her garden and eggs, cream, butter a bunch of parsley that was her perks. It was a meagre existence but they never went without anything.’ (Tony, age 70)

By the late twentieth century farming, the farm economy and farm holidays had changed. Changes and developments in farmhouse accommodation were identified by Sara, food writer and historian. It was suggested that this might be a generational and lifestyle change, and that consumers’ expectations are now higher.

'There is a new generational change, the time factor the wives work but not on the farm as they used to, the wife used to make cream and butter, keep poultry and geese for Christmas and grow vegetables and sell the extra for an income. Now the wife is a partner and there are few vegetable patches. At one time the farmers (and rural community) virtually only consumed what they produced, and shop goods like cakes, sliced bread and frozen peas were regarded as a luxury.

There are different consumer expectations too, they want things better than home, that is the bulk of the population, there are those who want something in touch with tradition and reality. They come with a list, not to come across, it's rather sad not discovering for yourself.' (Sara, age 60)

These were contrasted with one respondent's recollections of the late twentieth century, Sarah a farmer's daughter and now restaurateur. These show an abiding interest in rural life that was regarded as educational and experiential. The relationship between guest and host was emphasised:

'They came to us very town oriented, they didn't want to get their shoes dirty and shoes muddy – now they're camping in the field it's crazy!, When they came down here they used to go off to Lydford Gorge and Meldon Dam, all rural based places, anywhere they could walk. I can remember the children went back to London after their trip to Devon in the holidays and they went on a school trip to a farm (near London) All the other children has no idea where everything came from and these children said they felt brainy because they could answer all the teachers questions, one of the children who had been staying on the farm said it comes from Friesian cows most of the time and Jersey cows have more cream – very educated from her farm holiday experience.' (Sarah, age 35)

In each case the farm was identified as an important location for the tourist, providing hospitality and as a rural attraction. Farm life appears to have appealed to generations throughout the timescale. It has offered an alternative experience and opportunity for tourists to connect with the rural landscape.

### **7.5 Linking the tourism destination to food**

There are many ways in which food is significant in the creation of destination image in tourism, Echtner and Ritchie (2003: p.45). This may be illustrated through history, culture and tradition and this is often used in other counties and regions notably France and Italy, but what is it that makes Devon unique? What does Devon have to offer in this respect? What is the appeal of Devon's food to tourists? Respondents suggested that the appeal of Devon as a holiday destination is connected to food. This extended beyond its produce to production, local food, sustainability and heritage.

(Robin, Devon Farms) identified local food and the experience of the farm as important in connecting food and tourism to Devon, and in providing a learning opportunity for children:

'Over the last few years farmers have realised using local own food as a USP (unique selling proposition), ten years ago and since foot-and-mouth, efforts have been made in sustainable farming and food policy and the promotion of local food. The Western Morning News was important in encouraging us to show off using local food. I think we (the British) have an American attitude to food, not French where it is the way of life. Devon has so much farm tourism in it. Farms especially the bigger working farms, and the smaller farms - the experience is good for children.'

(Robin, age 60)

The appeal of food to the tourist and as part of the tourism experience was linked to the consumption of food whilst on holiday. Elise, a cheesemaker explained that this was differentiated between the routine and the holiday experience:

‘.....this (Tavistock, Devon) is a traditional holiday destination. We are getting a lot more customers coming down out of the usual season. They’re coming down for shorter breaks, then I think food does become more relevant because we can’t guarantee the weather, and people want to come down and go out for good meals, they want to have good food wherever they are. It’s really important. Part of the attraction is the service industry, people move down here and they want to buy into what they’ve seen on holiday. After the holiday it’s back to their everyday life, and then they think I’ll go back again, we had such good food when we were down there.’ (Elise, age 45)

The emergence of food tourism and food destinations in the twentieth century is characterised by connecting consumers with producers and the process of food production. Thus they are linked to place, experiencing the sophisticated dining venue and the local and rural outlet. Rusticity and artisan production are contrasted with the Michelin Star experience. The educational and experiential dimension is evident in the food production connecting tourists to producers, process and place as illustrated in the examples of farm, fish quay, and vineyard. Tourist destinations and food, and food destination areas, for example Dartmouth in Devon and Padstow in Cornwall have become well known for particular foods and restaurants. Devon is recognised for a range of foods, traditionally dairy, fish, meat, fruit and vegetables and more recently its wine-producing areas.

The appeal of Devon as a twenty-first century destination includes food. *Food and Drink Devon 2010* and *Food* ensure that the county is promoted as a food destination. This was affirmed by three respondents, a tourism executive, a chef/food writer and food writer:

(Tourism executive, Torbay) ‘....fishing and Brixham the attraction of the quay is to be developed including a restaurant, cookery school and will increase the dynamics of the visitor offer using locally caught fish. Now when it comes to developing sustainable tourism you are developing the local product. Love the flavour is all about food producers in the South Hams and Teignbridge. Local food events such as food markets and the Ocombe Farm Project (Paignton) enabled tourists to interact with producers and introduce an educational element in the tourism interface. People like buying food when they can meet the people who make it, and they like to see it made in the premises, fresh, they know it’s good.’ (Aviva, age 35)

(Chef and food writer) suggested that:



‘ In the West Country there was customer goodwill towards the place and supporting local food because it was local. The hotel provides an experience for somewhere else but a restaurant can serve tourists and local people.(Farmers’ markets and festivals) they are of interest to the man on the street, and are a platform that can grow organically on locality, it’s about the community’.’ (Shaun, age 60)

(Food writer) indicated that the county has potential for food tourism but needs to be attuned with consumer trends and demands:

‘ I started a cooking school in Crete 30 years ago, I’d come from California it was an early form of food tourism. It was a cluster, it pulled in other things, food, wine, producers, farmers and crafts. Devon has always been famous for its cream and cider, but people are more savvy today and want more. Food is the most fascinating part of tourism, you can only look at old stones for so long, food is a unifier.’ (Rosemary, age 55)

It is important to observe how the interaction between tourists and producers was identified as significant in the relationship between food and tourism. The importance of local food was identified as crucial in the food and tourism relationship.

## **7.6 Linking food and tourism to destinations and to Devon**

Food, whether an ingredient or specific product, is often associated with its place of production. In the West Country there is a symbolic and functional place attachment to particular foods, for example Cheddar Cheese, Bath Buns, and other items accorded Protected Designated Origin (PDO) and Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) status. This suggests that place and association are important to the integrity of the product.

In terms of tourism and the expectations of tourists such distinctions are important as food is associated with place, destination and resort in the context of tourism. Respondents suggested that the county is associated with high quality ingredients (although PDO and PGI were not mentioned). These were often perceived as 'better' than those available at home. Typically, responses indicated that food was of a high quality in Devon, for example;

'I would say there is quality food and a very high standard (in Devon) however in a chain restaurant the service was so appalling we didn't stay for our main course.

We came for the fishing, salmon and sea trout on the river Taw (The food) It varied from good pub food to sophisticated, but it was the ingredients, good fruit and vegetables, good Devon honey from South Molton.' (Pauline, age 80).

'There is an increasing awareness of food miles and on holiday an increasing number (Tourists) try to use local produce, more important in the last 10-20 years, even more so as costs go up, and the cost of importing is increasing.

Do you know the South West now (2009) has the highest number of Michelin stars outside London? I think we (Devon) are seen as a food Mecca. I'm chairman of the (local) Hoteliers Association and we've seen a move from nominated suppliers to local sourcing and local produce. Michael has done this for the past 8 years. I suppose in the past 2 or 3 years people are looking for quality and are more concerned about the carbon footprint. Michael is keen to promote the larder of the South West.' (Ruth, age 50)

Local food was considered to be of high quality and of importance to the tourists. This was shown to be connected to their food tourism experience whether in a restaurant or visitor attraction.

#### **7.6.1 Devon as a tourist destination**

From the archival data and the subsequent interviews presented in Chapters 5 and 6 it is apparent that the county is regarded as an important, and in many ways unique, destination. The county has a long tradition of tourism, appealing to many market segments including sport, visiting friends and relations, retailing, heritage and food.

At the beginning of the timescale, in the early years of the twentieth century prior to the First World War, tourists were attracted by its qualities of otherness, the picturesque and quaint, the temperate climate and varied landscape. This was the era of day trips Sunday school outings, boarding houses and small hotels juxtaposed with an exclusive and genteel tourism market. It is suggested that the county was perceived as somewhat distant and remote from other areas and for some it was considered as next best to going abroad, (*Book of fair Devon* 1899-1900: pp. 4-6).

During the mid-twentieth century the county continued to attract a wide range of tourists. However, the market was changing as package tours and foreign holidays enticed consumers to new resorts. The industry experienced a growth in holiday parks and caravan sites, for example, Sandy Bay in Exmouth which used its farmland cliff top location and private beach to attract visitors.

The last quarter of the century saw a renewed interest in health, the environment and its connection with food. Local foods, sustainability, and environmental concerns were identified by respondents as factors influencing their holiday. The market had changed, and for many the county was considered a short break destination, or as a location for a second home. Short breaks extended the traditional summer holiday season so could be regarded as an advantage to the industry, creating new opportunities and markets.

### **7.6.2 Devon's tourism appeal to the respondents**

The resorts of the south and north Devon coasts, the moor and countryside appealed to a broad market. There are examples of mass-market resorts and developments through the timescale, for example seaside resorts such as Ilfracombe and Torquay, and the subsequent appearance of holiday camps, camp sites, boarding houses and country hotels. These were identified in Chapter 3 and numerous examples in literature referred to food and Devon and specific resorts. Devonshire Cream, Clovelly Herrings and Sharpham Brie are popular examples of food connected to place and appeal to tourists. Place is an important marketing proposition (Kotler, 1999) and component of the marketing mix. In terms of Devon, food is frequently used in its promotion as a destination, for example *South Devon 2010* (p.17) advises visitors, 'eat South Devon, fresh local produce and award winning chefs – food lovers paradise'. The food product is presented as an attraction linked to place. The fortunes of many of the coastal resorts have resulted in decline but signs of regeneration in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century indicate that food is playing an important part in this process.

From the early and often romantic descriptions and narratives focusing on Devon, for example Eden Phillpotts, (1916) Rupert Brooke, (1916) Galsworthy, (1925) and Henry Williamson, (1945) there are numerous references to food. Typically in the descriptive and adjectival as used in the title of Harris's *My Devonshire book*, *In the land of junket and cream*, Garvice's *A farm in creamland* and Crossing's *Amid Devon's Alps* there are evocative allusions to food and landscape. Analogies using food were popular throughout the timescale and often refer to the richness and quality of the food, especially cream, the dairy product for which Devon was famed.

The suggestion of Devon as rich in the variety of its landscape and food is consistent throughout the timescale. However, it is the emphasis which changes, from the romantic and descriptive of Harris (1907) to Trewin's (2009) contemporary account of Devon's food and landscape.

### 7.6.3 Examples of Devon as a destination

Specific resorts and locations were identified during the interviews. The county appeared to have been characterised by its geography; the contrasting north and south coastlines, established resorts including Torquay, Paignton, and Clovelly, Dartmoor, and the attraction of the countryside, farm and rural tourism.

These were frequently described by respondents, both the tourists and the providers. Many examples of specific resorts were recalled by those who had stayed in Devon as tourists, and from some who had rented or purchased holiday homes, it was the popular resorts that featured prominently. As examples of producers Bristow's and Auther's, manufacturers of confectionery (much of which was made for the tourist market) was sold in the resorts as souvenirs. Evocative branding of the products linked them to the county and place for example *Bristow's of Devon*, *Auther's Devon Butters*, and *Tucker's of Totnes Clotted Cream Fudge*. Bristow's souvenir confectionery is often packaged using postcards of the point of sale, for example Exmouth, Exeter or Crediton. This is considered to add value to the product establishing a relationship between the consumer, the souvenir and its purchase at or close to the point of production.

Tourists throughout the timescale referred to the destination and resorts of their holidays. It would appear that in the earlier decades of the timescale mobility was a factor that restricted movement far from the resort and that later the motor car and coach, and independent travel, encouraged and enabled exploration. Resorts distinguished through the interview process tended to be clustered in South and North Devon. The resorts identified are identified in table 7.1, page, 331.

‘My mother was spending a holiday in Torquay and I came to see her. The train journey was memorable, along the coast, London to Torquay, past Dawlish and Teignmouth. I arrived at Torre station with its tended gardens and palm trees.’ (Rose, age 76)

‘Torquay and Paignton were much nicer than Nice, small-scale and restrained in comparison. The English Riviera I find it preferable to the French Riviera, one feels like an evacuee or refugee, coastal roads jam packed, it’s a coastal city not a holiday place, those depressing high-rises.’ (Richard, age 70)

‘Part of the attraction was to visit and revive vivid memories of Babbacombe and Torquay, seeing it all with childhood eyes and going back forty years.’ (Sheena, age 50)

The appeal of Devon as a traditional spring and summer destination was identified, but it was also noted as a resort for autumn and winter holidays. This was perceived as a marketable advantage, the mild climate of south Devon and its Riviera contrasted with the hunting, shooting and fishing of North Devon. Albeit somewhat exclusive, seasonality and food are now associated with food festivals and events including the annual October Apple Festival, Tavistock Goosey Fair and Widecombe Fair. The food festivals tend to be held in the spring and summer when a wider range of produce is available. The resorts identified through the interviews indicate a preference for South Devon, although Dartmoor and North Devon are mentioned. Later in the twentieth century the county is regarded as a popular short break destination with second homes, cookery schools, food and events and festivals.

Through the twentieth century timescale the scope of holidays has changed, reflecting trends and fashions in tourism and leisure. The appeal of the county for activity-based tourism is important as there is often a food component. This was noted by several respondents with the emphasis on food increasing by the late twentieth century;

‘We used to play golf on Dawlish Warren, I presume we spent a lot of time on the beach, bowls on the bowling green, a great innovation for us, popular and still going to this day. I can’t think of anything that’s changed significantly apart from all the cars....’ (Talbot, age 92, 1920s)

‘(1950s) It was the sea and surf and peace and quiet we came for, everything (food) is standardised, some foods have disappeared. It seems sanitised and packaged. Even the blackberries are not so good now the hedges are cut by machine.’

‘We came (to Devon) for the fishing, salmon and sea trout on the river Taw. We stayed at the Rising Sun at Umberleigh, we’d go there and fish, September and March when the salmon were rising. We had extremely good fare, extremely well cooked, it doesn’t compare with the stuff you see now, good steak and kidney puddings, roasts, fish of course, light sweets and chap’s pudd’s, well cooked satisfying. We also stayed at High Bullen (a well known sophisticated country house hotel) that was a different kettle of fish, more in line with what we would have had in Surrey (We were in the green belt) Maybe (it was) slightly better, there you had good fish dishes, salmon and sea trout, in that particular area the meat was very good – lamb, and chicken dishes. In those days there were not so many bits and pieces on the plate, different from today. There was much less influence from other countries, even the French cuisine was basically English food. There’s been a very big change, obviously now there are influences from Italy and France. Most people were out all day they wanted packed lunches and meals in the evening. High Bullen is near Hele Farm where they produce beautiful meat. (Hele Farm – Ann Petch was one of the first producers of top quality meats, and hams from rare breeds c.1984/5) The Rising Sun produced good English pub food, not out of a microwave. Both places had good game, pheasant, jugged hare, good ham. If you went to London to eat it was to chat and be sociable and was sophisticated. Food added to the experience. My husband Tim worked for BP, when he was home he liked English cooking. The basic ingredients were good here.’

(Pauline, age, 80, 1970/80s)

The dive school (Plymouth) attracted a mixed group from all walks of life, NCOs, solicitors, doctors and dentists. Divers like to party after they’ve dived, they like socialising. Dinner, and night clubs live music and food. Lots of lovely fresh fish, scallops, the pricing was attractive and reasonable when compared to London. Perfect in 1996, meal and wine for £20. We had clotted cream and scones.(Charlotte, age 55 )

Food appears to have been regarded as an enhancement to the sporting activity. The hotels, restaurants, and food were perceived to be better in the country. Devon as a county and rural resort appears to have an advantage of its positive perception in terms of food. Sport and recreational activities of many types including diving, hunting and fishing attract many tourists.

### **7.7 The appeal of Devon as a tourist destination**

What is the appeal of these resorts, why were they popular and what role did food have to play in this? Respondents identified the scenery in Devon as a major attraction and as enhancing their holiday. Descriptions of the coastlines, moor and farmland featured frequently in the interviews. Specific resorts were recalled and these were often associated with food, sometimes a foodstuff, meal, restaurant or cafe. A picture emerged of a landscape rich in attractions and culinary associations.



### **7.7.1 Devon as a destination for food**

A fundamental question pertinent to this thesis is *how* did Devon become a destination for food, or one associated with food? Is this a phenomenon common to others? Food is widely used in tourism as a promotional tool and to attract visitors. How then does Devon differentiate itself from others? The legacy of Devon as a fertile agricultural county famous for the quality of its food is important and that food has become an important feature in the experience economy must be considered. The county is distinguished by its landscape which provides much of the food and many of the attractions enjoyed by its visitors. That these are often connected whether in the country house hotel using local produce on its menu, or in the souvenir fudge containing clotted cream, contribute to the uniqueness of place experienced in Devon.

Consumers' interest in food, their expectations, knowledge and sophistication regarding food at home and on holiday has evolved through the timescale of the research. From a period of relatively limited access to information regarding nutrition, health and leisure to the internet and high profile media coverage tourists are exposed to significant detail regarding food and their holiday destinations. The awareness of environmental and ethical issues, global warming, food and air miles which may contribute to the choice of Devon as destination for UK-based tourists provides an interesting parallel with tourists' choice of Devon as a destination when it was considered as a less costly and accessible destination by many tourists in the first half of the twentieth century.

The interest and concerns regarding health are important and can be connected to tourism and the consumption of food as a tourist. The theme of health is important linking place, environment and food to the experience of tourism. Earlier health concerns focused on access to fresh air and sunshine whereas today concerns over pollution and over-exposure to the sun may be expressed. The concept of Devon as a health resort has been demonstrated throughout the twentieth century. From its legacy

of seaside resorts to Hydro hotels and sports, the notion of health and the promotion of tourism has evolved through the timescale.

Towards the end of the twentieth century, health concerns regarding eating in relation to foods, their source, traceability, nutritive value, and the production appear to be of interest to tourists. Menus featuring local produce and the range of foodstuffs taken home as souvenirs suggest that the relationship between food and health evolves and is related to prevailing health issues and trends.

The restaurant has long been an important food outlet for tourists. Eating out became an activity and pleasure associated with the county. From the days of the resort hotel restaurant to the sophistication of Michelin-starred outlets the county mirrors national culinary trends. However the county has an advantage in that much of the produce is sourced locally. This is important as it illustrates not only a change in taste, but a demand for high quality and an expectation that *local* produce will be used. This represents a contrast to the exclusivity of earlier eras in which imported food and wines suggested high status and quality and represented the expectations of a particular era.

An important change was identified by respondents in that there is now a gastronomic reason for visiting Devon in the context of eras of the research. This dates from the 1970s with specific restaurants and hotels, namely Gidleigh Park, The Carved Angel, Combe House, and The Imperial Hotel Torquay used as examples by respondents. The emerging trend in eating out was evident in that respondents aged over 50 recalled few occasions for eating out up to the 1970s. There appeared to be economic and social constraints, and eating out was limited to cream teas, fish and chips and snack meals. For many tourists full board in hotels limited opportunities for eating elsewhere, but bed and breakfast and self-catering encouraged the consumption of meals in cafes and restaurants. 'Eating out' was regarded as a treat, a special occasion and almost spoken of as an extravagance. Wartime rationing and legislation, then the subsequent years of austerity, had discouraged the public from eating out.

It was the cafe that was often recalled during the interview as providing an opportunity for eating out. Deller's in Exeter and Paignton, Addison's Royal Cafe and Creamery in Torquay, Clapp's in Exmouth, Badger's Holt on Dartmoor and Madge Mellor's in Newton Abbot were remembered by respondents mostly as outlets for afternoon tea.

'We went to Lustleigh, there was a very exotic teashop there opposite the church. And Badger's Holt (Dartmoor) in those days was superb, we knew them quite well. They did special scones cut like a cake. They still do, they sold that with the business. Sometimes we used to change buses at Newton Abbot. I always enjoyed that because that was where Madge Mellor's was, we had Florentines (a type of biscuit made from glace fruits and coated with chocolate) which I'd never met before, they were very sticky, and lemonade made from powder. Then my sister took me to Deller's, (Exeter) that was a bit of alright. I think I had a knickerbocker glory, or something like that. It was absolutely lovely, that was the bit of culture. I think when we went to Deller's I had to wear a dress.' (Daphne, age 92, and Diana, age 84 - 1920s to 70s)

It is interesting to note the lasting impressions derived from these holiday visits. A combination of place, food, and ambience contributed to the experience of the commercial outlet.

It was not until later in the timescale in the 1970s that the restaurant meal was regarded as an event and reason for visiting Devon. In the eras of the timescale following the Second World War eating out became more popular, encouraged by overseas travel and affluence. New styles of food outlet appeared including Italian, Indian and Chinese themed restaurants and fast food. Examples of change in the style and propensity of eating out on holiday were provided from those working in the industry and visitors to the county. These are important statements as they identify change, trends and patterns in eating out and tourism;

'I came (to Devon) in 1962 and vowed never to come back, it was awful we couldn't find a decent hotel or food in Exeter. It was the post-war period, Elizabeth David, and people were reawakening to the glories of food. There was the Imperial Hotel (Torquay) that had a good reputation and would have attracted the middle classes. Of course (through the 70s and 80s) Gidleigh Park (Chagford) is important, Paul Henderson is significant in establishing the gastronomic event of coming down to Devon.'

(Tom, age 60 Food writer/restaurateur)

'In the early 1970s people forget that Nouvelle cuisine was important, and a freeing movement, it was liberating for food, and was generally not just French, but included local and fresh, you got what was around you. Food reflects changes in society, not drives it.' (Shaun, age 60, Chef/food writer)

The change stimulated by Nouvelle Cuisine, which came from France, was identified as an important stage in the evolution of twentieth century gastronomy. One respondent, (a chef), suggests that from this period eating out came to be regarded as a hobby for some consumers. This in part was attributed to changes in the traditional hotel restaurant and style of food served which has contributed to the popularity and confidence of the meal experience.

(*Andy*) Manager and proprietor identified, from personal experience, hospitality trends through the 80s, from the growth of popular catering outlets to the emergence of fine dining;

‘At that time 25 years ago it was very much a new thing, carveries and steak houses. We seem to forget how prominent the big chains were at the time and how standardised menus were – and their appeal to the tourist market. As food opened up to a more continental market so did wines change, cheeses changed as well. It came from London the trend was for businessmen to be out for lunch and doing deals, it had been done before in stuffy hotels but now it was in relaxed wine bars.’ (*Andy*, age 50)

‘.... ten years ago (2000) local foods were just coming into people’s minds now. We might get one or two people who’d say they wanted ruby red Devon meat. But now it’s taken for granted that it’s all local and seasonal, it’s a foregone conclusion. ‘ (*Ruth*, age 50, Country House Hotel proprietor)

The commercial outlets have increased in their scope and sophistication and connect consumers to the landscape and agriculture through the use of local foods. For example by the beginning of the twenty-first century the Royal Clarence Hotel in Exeter and Combe House, Gittisham both emphasise the use of local produce and producers in their menu terminology. This is in contrast to the practice of the early twentieth century whereby the language of the menu tended to use culinary French with occasional references to the origin of an ingredient, for example Exe salmon.

### **7.7.2 Associating place with tourism and food**

The varied landscape of Devon obviously appeals to tourists and that it is connected to food enhances the tourism experience. Agriculture is still a dominant sector in Devon, employing over 25,000 and with 11,000 farm holdings (Devon County Council, 2010). Rural Devon presents in many ways an enduring and nostalgic landscape, its farms, pastureland, moors and coastal regions contributing to a rich geographical diversity. It is important to consider that it is a landscape that changes and evolves. New crops and methods of production represent a topical interest in the environment and sustainable food production, sourcing, and food miles. Therefore although the county holds strong associations with the past, organisations such as Food and Drink Devon work to promote its food and their guide book advises; ‘whether you are a visitor to Devon or live here this guide offers a gateway for the very best of the region’s products and hospitality’ (2008). Throughout the interview process it was evident that respondents associated their time in Devon with the rural landscape.

Urban Devon was largely identified through commercial outlets providing food from the region. Its towns and cities offer many food opportunities for tourists whether eating out or souvenir shopping. Visits to historic cities and towns and resorts including Plymouth, Exeter and Torquay are regarded as important opportunities for the retail sector. Although consistent through the time frame these are now considered as destinations for food enhanced by the attraction of established food markets, for example Barnstaple pannier market, food festivals and farmers’ markets. The food markets, celebrations and festivals promote the food product and the region. It was noted by some respondents that many of these events are relatively new. An important trend in the production and consumption of food has been that of food as an activity. Farm trails, festivals, cookery schools, and eating out as a leisure activity represent a growing interest in food and tourism. Eating out has evolved through the timescale and this is in parallel with social trends from the interests in diet and health at the beginning

of the twentieth century to the subsequent concerns with food, health and the environment by the turn of the twenty-first century.

The significance of food as an attraction, whether its production or consumption, suggest that for many tourists food is thought of as an experience or component of the experience economy. Although this is not exclusive to Devon, however, the county appears to possess advantages in terms of its history, landscape and food culture. This includes the legacy of farming and agriculture and the opportunity for tourists (and other consumers) to connect with the production of the food they consume.

The county is often presented as a health resort and as a resort for healthy food. This can be traced from its early days of genteel seaside resorts and rural retreats to caravan parks and holiday homes. This was reflected in correspondents' recollections of holidays dating from the 1920s, Devon was perceived as a healthy resort whether coast or countryside. It is crucial to the promotion of Devon as a resort although the interpretation of health in the context of tourism varies. As demonstrated in chapters 2 and 3 this is concurrent with prevailing knowledge, exemplified during the 1930s when resorts were promoted for their healthy qualities attributed to sunshine, fresh air and good food, *British Health Resorts Handbook* (1938).

The history of the county as a health resort dates from the early days of tourism and the development of Devon's watering places which predate the timescale but are significant as their legacy influenced the later development of resorts and leisure consumption. The twentieth century health resort, for example Torquay or Plymouth, used the advantages offered by the sea and the benefits of the county as a resort for fresh air, sunlight and healthy recreation. Later in the century respondents (who had visited Torquay and Plymouth) indicated that diving and surfing now attracted tourists but that physical activities were enhanced by the quality and experience of the food produced in the county.

Devon's evolution as a destination through the timescale from the first quarter of the twentieth century includes periods of growth, decline and renewal. This is also observed in terms of food with the growth of mass production usurped by the interest and demand for local food and small-scale artisan manufacture. Respondents indicated a preference for local and traditional foods whilst on holiday and as souvenirs.

### **7.7.3 Connecting food to tourism**

Staying away from home necessitates changes to diet and the experience of different foods. Eating patterns are likely to be different on holiday as consumers' activity and behaviour changes. Different foods are available, there are new food opportunities and outlets, and food is purchased for souvenir. Respondents affirmed that food on holiday is a part of the experience. Some who claimed not to have come to Devon for the food indicated that it was of interest for example,

‘.....food was not the attraction, it was the sea and surf and peace and quiet we came for.’  
(Caroline, age 55)

However, later in the interview it appeared that local food had played an important part in their self-catering holidays including;

‘local meat, sausages, honey, fish like mackerel and pollack, cream and eggs (for souvenirs) tea shops where we enjoyed splits or scones served with the cream tea, and Kelly's ice cream.’  
(Caroline, age 55)

The data from Chapters 5 and 6 showed that trends in eating out had changed through the timescale. Prior to the Second World War eating out was regarded as a treat, something special and restricted in many instances to afternoon tea, cream teas or fish and chips. Tourists staying in hotels and guest

houses on full or half board would have little occasion (or sufficient disposable income) to use restaurants and hotels, hence the proliferation and popularity of tea shops and cafes, many of which provided lunches and light meals. It was not until the post-war period from the 1960s that eating out increased. It is interesting to observe that it is the informal and relatively low cost outlets that endure in the county alongside Michelin starred restaurants and gastro-pubs.

### **7.8 Resorts and food associations**

The resorts identified during the interview process are presented in table 7.1 and show their food and tourism connections. Respondents sometimes described food, or products, associated with place and commercial food outlets. These references demonstrate how food is linked to the county as a destination.

Respondents repeatedly referred to the contrasting North and South Devon coastlines and their popular resorts such as Clovelly and Torbay. These were connected to food through ingredients, for example Clovelly Herrings, products such as cheese and wine, or food outlets where the items were consumed. Foods identified by respondents demonstrating the relationship with place are shown in Table 7.1 which combines place with foodstuff, product and outlet.

Table 7.1 Resorts and food associations, food, products, outlets

Food	Place	Products	Place	Outlets	Place
Herrings	<b>Clovelly</b>	Fudge	<b>Crediton</b> <b>Totnes</b>	Deller's Cafes	<b>Exeter</b> <b>Paignton</b>
Fish	<b>Brixham</b>	Clotted cream	<b>'Devon'</b>	Abode Hotel	<b>Exeter</b>
Market	<b>Barnstaple</b>	Cider	<b>Honiton</b>	Gidleigh	<b>Chagford</b>



'produce'	<b>Farmers' markets</b>			Park	
		Cheese Wine	<b>Sharpham</b> <b>Salcombe</b>	Combe House	<b>Honiton</b>
		Devon cheeses	<b>Tavistock</b>	Badger's Holt	<b>Dartmoor</b>
				Carved Angel	Dartmouth
				Rising Sun	Umberleigh

Source, Author

The places associated with food identify resorts that are a form of food attraction and are located at the place of production. References to food, products and outlets indicate that interests in food are extensive and include food as a souvenir and that consumed during the holiday. The association of place to food is significant. It connects tourists to Devon through the experience of hospitality outlets, the farm, markets and food production.

The attraction of place and food can be discussed using two perspectives, that of the tourists and that of the place associations of industry. Do the two converge, how they differ – what is the significance of place and the attraction of food? From the tourists' recollections food is often associated with place in the context of occasion and the family holiday, perhaps a picnic, meals enjoyed on the farm, or a particular restaurant, for example Deller's Cafe, Badger's Holt or Clapp's. Conversely for those associated with the industry recollections tend to be place and product-related as with Bristow's of Devon and Sharpham cheese and wine. The association is with a product and its place of origin and production, for the tourist this is an association with product, place and consumption. The deferred consumption of certain foods (and products such as wine, cheese, meats) as a souvenir extend and enhance the tourism experience for some tourists.

Table 7.2 Agriculture, food and tourism in Devon identifies a range of food products shown to be associated with tourist attractions and experiences. A popular example is that of Devon's reputation for its dairy produce. Tourists are able to consume many of the products during their time in the county in addition to taking them home as mementoes or souvenir gifts.

The countryside attracts tourists, and food is part of its attraction. The proliferation of farm shops, food trails and field kitchens offer the tourist an opportunity to see where food is produced and also connects tourists with the countryside. (These date mostly from the last quarter of the twentieth century)

Table 7. 2 Agriculture, food and tourism in Devon

<i>Agriculture, food and tourism in Devon</i>	<i>Food</i>	<i>Tourism/outlet Experience</i>
Agriculture/landscape	Food/product	Tourism/event
Fishing <i>Coast, 'lakes' and rivers</i>	Sea water, freshwater rivers (Salt in Cornwall)	Holiday activity, sport
Mariculture <i>River/estuary</i>	Shellfish 'branded' 'River Exe mussels'	River Dart oyster beds
<u>Horticulture</u>  Viticulture  <i>Vineyard</i>	  Wines	  Vineyard tours, tastings retail. Devon Wine School.
Arable  <i>Fields</i>	Fruit, vegetables, cereals, orchards	PYO, Farmers' Markets, Farm shops, organic & local produce food outlets.  <i>'Riverford'</i> Totnes  Souvenirs
Cider  <i>Orchard</i>	Ciders, perry	Tastings, press/factory tours
Dairy	Milk, cream, butter, cheese	Cream teas, ice cream, Cream

<i>Farmyard</i> <i>Pasture/grazing</i>		by Post , & fudge as souvenirs
Livestock <i>Farmyard</i> <i>Pasture/grazing</i>	Cattle, sheep, pigs, poultry	Restaurants, markets
Game <i>Wood, field, river</i>	Furred, feathered, fish	Sport
Pre-Fordist to Post-Fordist consumption  Fast food to Slow Food	The hospitality industry & the ' <i>celebrity chef</i> ' form an important link in the ' <i>food&amp; tourism chain</i> '	Cookery Schools and Food Festivals 'showcase' local produce as a USP.
NB not all activities and products are <i>tourism exclusive</i>	'Experiences represent an existing but previously unarticulated genre of economic output'.	The Experience Economy.  Pine and Gilmore, 1999

Source, author

This attraction of the countryside is manifested in aspects of food production, for example organic production and traceability. The source of foodstuffs reflects wider (and global) concerns about food production. This emerged in the latter part of the timescale, from the 1970s in part as a reaction to mass production and Fordist consumption patterns.

The commercial outlets, the significance of the restaurant and café are important in the evolution of the relationship as tourists eat out more frequently, regarded as more discerning and sophisticated. Throughout the data collection process it was evident that eating out had changed in frequency and in terms of the outlets used. At the beginning of the twentieth century eating out in public was restricted by the social *morés* of the day but within the period of the timescale had changed, with eating out defined as a hobby and lifestyle statement by one respondent. Eating out reflects a wider social trend for the consumption of prepared food and the interest in food as a lifestyle statement.

The evolving relationship between food and tourism includes the food souvenir. This extends the experience of tourism as a service and intangible good to something that enables gastronomic elements of the holiday to be replicated at home. The souvenir as presented in chapter 6 reflects change and trends in tourism and food consumption. Souvenirs are polarised from the early twentieth century obligatory clotted cream and seaside rock to twenty-first century lifestyle products. Artisan produce and celebrity chef endorsed items ranging from cookery books to kitchen equipment appeal to many tourists enabling them to combine the contemporary with the traditional.

Food as a feature of the tourism product is evident, and the interviews confirmed its enduring and evolving relationship. From the early twentieth century there are examples of food linked to tourism, notably clotted cream. It was perceived as a luxury ingredient, a regional speciality, an adjunct to fruit and basis of the cream tea. Later in the timescale it emerged as an ingredient, adding value and conferring the quality of Devon when it was added to toffee, fudge, and latterly shortbreads and yogurt. The product is now available nationally but retains its associations with place identity whether Devon or the West Country.

### **7.8.1 Exploring the relationship between food and tourism in Devon**

Food includes that produced on the ‘farm’ and by other means of production such as fishing, cider and winemaking. Game is included as its pursuit is possibly a tourist activity. Farmed food products such as venison, trout and salmon are often sold at outlets visited by tourists. Food as a souvenir appears which extends the role of food in tourism. This can be extrapolated to show how food becomes part of the tourism product and is consumed in the tourism ‘experience economy’ as described by Pine and Gilmore (1999: p. 1) The coffee bean is used as an example to illustrate the way in which a commodity can be regarded as a commodity, good, service or experience with ‘distinct ranges of value’ attached by customers to the offering. In the example of coffee, when offered in a Michelin-starred restaurant the experience is enhanced by ambience and service delivery that increase its value. In restaurants the value of food is increased considerably by a ‘heightened ambience or sense of theatre’. In Devon a similar analogy referring to Clotted Cream could be used. It is a commodity of great importance to the county and is also enhanced by the service experience of the ubiquitous Cream Tea.

Plate 7. 1, Cream Tea festival logo, 2008



The recent Torbay Cream Tea festival, see plate 7.1, March 2008 aimed to attract tourists using the event as a food experience, apparently a great success it was not repeated in 2009.

The relationship between food and tourism and the county, its geography, history and culture represents an evolving relationship between production and consumption. Associations between place and food in the context of tourism, whether as a producer such as the farm or vineyard, or as a place in which to consume Devon's food, are important in its evolving relationship.

### **7.9 Devonshire food**

A frequent response during the interviews indicated that the food was good in Devon. But what is meant by Devonshire food? Is there a traditional cuisine, are there traditional dishes or are the traditions a myth and concoction for the tourist, staged and contrived and presented as culinary authenticity? Traditional foods of Britain (Prospect books 1999: p.9) suggest that there are local foods to be found in Britain and that they should be cherished. Jaine (1997) suggests that these are somewhat less clearly defined in the West Country as it is a relatively small area that would perhaps not afford a great deal of differentiation.

Respondents identified the significance of the rural in the production of commercial food, and that cafes and restaurants were influenced by trends in the industry and consumer tastes. Food trends have changed through the timescale. In the first half of the twentieth century concerns with diet and health

focused on nutrition (British Health Resorts Handbook, 1938, British Medical Journal, 1936). Later in the century there appears to be a greater emphasis on green issues, Slow Food, ethical production, concerns for the environment, and sustainability.

There is evidence of a nostalgic representation in terms of food and tourism throughout the timescale. At the beginning of the twentieth century the interest in rustic and rural Devon presented the county with some nostalgia, a yearning for the past, another way of life. At the turn of the twenty-first century there are nostalgic references to food production and small-scale artisan production. Brown and Sherry (2003: p.12) suggest that selected elements of the past are used in the construction of nostalgic image. In the case of Devon these tend to focus on food production and farming. Nostalgic packaging of the tourism products is evident in the food souvenir where the imagery is often derived from earlier styles and eras. Confectionery packed for the tourist and export market often uses images of the countryside, a constructed countryside, one constructed for the market drawing on evocative representations. Bristow's of Devon began to package souvenirs using images of rural Devon to emphasise the dairy produce used from the 1960s when the tourist and export markets were developed. Newland and Taylor (2010: p. 15) suggest that nostalgia goods in tourism are often food-based and made by local artisans therefore supporting the local economy. The example of confectionery made using local dairy produce and nostalgically packaged for export supports the proposal.

Agriculture played an important role in the location of the Ambrosia Creamery at Lapford in Devon. Tinned cream and rice pudding made using local milk used the association of rural Devon in their promotion. An American, Mr Hatmaker, had invented a process of drying milk and with the help of English financier Mr Harris started the production of dried milk for 'infants'. Later tinned cream and rice pudding were added to the range of products and the Lapford factory was established in 1928. Situated in prime dairy country and close to the railway and cattle market, it was receiving 1,500 gallons of milk a day by 1930. The milk was collected daily from local farms by Chevrolet lorries and by 1949 there were 260 employees and the milk collection had reached 20,000 gallons per day. The processed milk was then distributed by rail, from the special sidings. A combination of marketing, distribution and integrity of the product, sold using evocative images and messages of Devon, the countryside and goodness of the product Ambrosia – the food of the gods reinforced the image of Devon as a major producer of dairy products. It is an interesting story of innovation in food processing, distribution and marketing, one connected to agriculture and the rural culinary traditions of the county.

Food festivals, fairs, celebrations and markets attract many visitors engaging them in local food production. This has been encouraged by organisations such as Common Ground, (Apple Day) (1991; p. 73), and artisan producers' revival of interest in many food products including bread and cheese.

Food festivals and the *celebration* of food is an evolving trend in food consumption that embraces tourism. The experiences that food provides for tourists are indicative of Pine and Gilmore's experience economy which extends the work of Holbrook and Hirschman (1982: pp. 132-9). This recognised the important experiential aspects of consumption. In the context of food and tourism, feelings arising from consumption, the pursuit of fantasies and the multi-sensory aspects of product enjoyment are important considerations. The experience of food is related to place, and the sensory pleasures of taste and aromas. These were frequently recalled during the interviews and were obviously important memories for many respondents, *I can taste it now*, or of food that was shared with friends or family. The experience of food as part of tourism, and in food tourism, provides many experiential opportunities. It is important to consider the evolution of food tourism, Hall and Sharples (2003: p.10) include in their definition; visitation to primary and secondary producers, food festivals, restaurants and specific locations for which food tasting or experiencing the attributes of specialist food production are the primary motivating factor for travel. Although the activities are defined as food tourism the consumers may not consider their experience of these as food tourism. Many of the respondents considered their food interests as secondary, but could (using the definition) be classified as having experienced food tourism.

### **7.9.1 Local food and dishes in tourism**

Dishes from Devon are invariably those from the home or domestic provision rather than the commercial hotels and restaurants. Food presented to tourists in the home was basically that consumed by the family and may have varied slightly according to the region of the county. Early travellers appear to have been impressed by the food they ate during their tours. Shaw (1798) was impressed by the clotted cream served at dinner in Okehampton and described for readers in great detail the way in which it was made. Areas close to coast or river would have included more fish and well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century the quality of shellfish and salmon is recorded in guide books and journals. Tourists today who are looking for regional dishes would still probably find many of those listed in Table 7.3 available commercially. Commercial menus tend to provide details of the sources and qualities of ingredients, in addition to the composition of the dish. Previously, dishes were usually identified by a form of culinary nomenclature which relied on the name of a dish to communicate

details of content and preparation. The source of ingredients was implicit. This has largely been superseded by descriptions that refer to the method of cookery and significantly the source and quality of ingredients.

Hotels and restaurants tend to offer a different type of food, one that might include refined (staged authenticity) versions of local dishes but the main attraction of the menu is possibly the promotion of locally sourced ingredients. This is accorded great status by both consumers and chefs. (The appeal of imported foods has somewhat declined in face of economic, ethical and environmental considerations.) Numerous outlets endorse local produce and suppliers and these are subsequently used as a unique selling proposition. The use of ‘local’ produce and details of suppliers and origin is now afforded greater emphasis than in earlier eras. Examples of local produce are noted in guide books and advertisements but in a different context appropriate to the time.

**Table 7. 3 Dishes associated with Devon**

Product	Farming/production	Season
Cream tea (Yeast buns, or scones)	Dairy, fruit	Summer
Junket	Dairy	Summer
Pasties	Cereals, meat	All Year Round, AYR
Dumplings	Cereals, fruit	Autumn/winter
Pies, sweet & savoury <i>‘Squab Pie’</i>	Cereals, meat, dairy	AYR
Cheese  Farm/Artisan	Dairy	AYR  with seasonal variations in production
Cider/wine/apple juice	Fruit	Autumn/AYR
Fudge	Dairy	Summer



Ice cream	Dairy	Summer/AYR
Fish, shellfish, salmon	Fishing	Season
Soft fruits, strawberries, raspberries	Fruit/Pick -Your -Own	Seasonal

Source: interviews and data collection, author

What does the selection of dishes in table 7.3 suggest? They show that the local diet was based on the produce available. By economic necessity many of these items formed the staple diet in the country – with the exception of fudge and ice cream which would have been regarded as luxuries. This was the diet of early travellers and tourists, especially those who stayed on the farms and ‘lived off the land’ (respondent Tony, farmer, 2008); they are significant in tourism too as these dishes are often linked to tourist activities in the form of visits and trails on working farms and ‘tastings’. They are still presented to tourists in many outlets.

In the early twentieth century a range of ‘typical’ dishes was featured on the postcard, A Devon welcome (plate 7.2 pictured below). The list comprises; Devonshire cider, Junket and cream, Hogs pudding (a type of sausage), home-made cake, raspberries and cream, apple dumplings, bread and cream and tea. These items were staple fare in the first half of the twentieth century and recalled in many interviews. By the turn of the twenty-first century the Cream Tea was the most popular food subject depicted on postcards, see plate 7.3.

Plate 7.2 Postcard, A Devon Welcome, c.1920

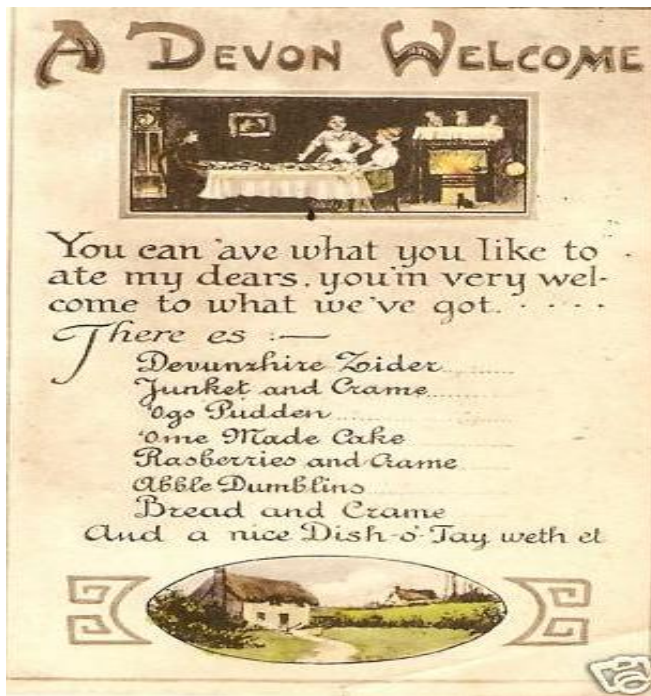


Plate 7.3, Devonshire Cream Tea, c.2000



The addition of fudge and ice cream to the list of dishes is relatively recent and show how an international product can be adopted, and adapted, by a region. Devon's rich dairy products are central to the commercial success of these products which became popular from the 1950s. During the 1960s Bristow's of Devon found an international, (as well as local) market for their confectionery which included butter and clotted cream, two ingredients emphasising the association with Devon.

It is interesting to note that fudge originated in America and is one of many food imports from the New World linked to tourism. In the 1920s and 30s American soda fountains, waffle bars and sundaes were popular in many tourist resorts. They added a modern and international food experience to the traditional cafes found in most resorts. See picture of Addison's Royal Café and Creamery Torquay, (plate 7.3, below) which refers to American soda fountain, sundaes and Devonshire cream by post.

Plate 7. 4, Addison's Royal Café and Creamery Torquay c. 1930



**Table 7.4 Food interests over time**

1 >1914	2 >1939	3 >1969	4 >1989	5 >2000+
Farm - accommodation Rural economy Hotels Cafes Tea shops Guest houses Devonshire dishes Food souvenir Clotted cream	Farm - accommodation Small seaside hotel Touring caravan Day trips Cafes Tea shops	Farm - accommodation Bed and breakfast Self- catering cottage/caravan Small hotels Cafes Teashops Cream teas Ice cream Fish and chips	Farm - diversification Bed and breakfast Guest houses Country house hotels VFR Hotel Bistro and carvery Food as a hobby Gastronomic reason for visiting Devon Nouvelle cuisine	Farm holiday 'lets' Farmers' markets Food tourism Food tourists Country house hotels Food festivals Field – Kitchen/canteen Restaurants - Michelin stars Souvenir foods 'Pub food' Food and landscape Food destinations Food/Visitor experience Food provenance Food branded as Devon Foodies Food culture Food and lifestyle Nostalgia Artisan products Cream tea Local produce Consumer awareness Lifestyle changes

Source, author, (questionnaire and archive-derived data)

Table 7.4 indicates eras/food interests, and awareness shows how the interest in food has increased and become more specialised through the century. The interest and attraction of the countryside is consistent but is shown to evolve. The detail in eras 1 and 5 demonstrate ways in which the interests in food and tourism have become more specialised and sophisticated, not only with Michelin-starred eating experiences but a renewed curiosity in artisan-produced foods. The nostalgic references identified from the time of the belle époque reappear in the late twentieth century emphasising artisan production, local produce and food traditions, (Trewin 2010).

## 7. 10 Conclusions

Referring to Devon as a case study shows how a resort and area well known for its food production and as a tourist destination has used these through a defined timescale, belle époque, depression, post war austerity economic boom and the era of environmental concerns that which has been of constant interest has changed.

The provision of food for tourists is the focus of the research and this has been identified through the interviews in reminiscence and the sharing of experiences through the timescale. Promotional materials from each of the eras of the timescale have provided references to food, from the brochures of the early twentieth century to the British Tourist Authority 1974 pamphlet, *England, The West Country*. The region was described as ‘the playground of the nation crammed with scenic beauty, history and charm’. Each of the counties in the region (Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall and Avon) is described in terms of its scenery, history and attractions. The food in Devon is described thus,

‘The county is celebrated too, for its good food. The very name Devon, conjures up visions of cider, strawberry teas and cream.’

It is an important description as it is the only county in the pamphlet to be distinctly associated with food. The entry for Cornwall reads simply,

‘Local lobster, crab and Cornish pasties should be sampled.’

It is a perceptive comment and distinction. Perhaps indicative of the changes mentioned in the interviews of this period (the 1970s), being the first time there was a gastronomic reason to visit Devon and portent of the county as a food destination.

Throughout the interviews references to the county reflect an interest in the landscape, history and food culture. Each respondent associated food with specific locations, whether place, event such as a festival, experience and visit to a producer, shop, hotel, restaurant, or cafe. Respondents were able to identify changes through the timescale of the twentieth century describing times of adversity, hardship and prosperity. Food was defined as an integral part of the tourism experience in Devon.

The significance of agriculture and tourism in Devon and the current agri-tourism niche was recognised during the interviews. All respondents mentioned, or alluded to, farming and agriculture. This may be described as evolving from earlier forms of farm tourism. It is demonstrated through the timescale and the recollections of respondents that the farm is an attraction. In the early twentieth century the appeal of the farm appears to be a contrast in lifestyle and rusticity. Following the First World War, a 1919 government pamphlet, *Food Production* (pp. 2-3) rejoiced that the soil of the United Kingdom was inviolate and that 'our heritage has been saved'. It was suggested that most people regarded the country as a resource for holidays and were concerned that there should be enough 'good country for holidaymaking'. The connection between the land and leisure is important and it was proposed that of the 46 million cultivated acres 'there is much room for sport as well as for farming'. 20 million acres of mountains, heath and wasteland were considered 'enough to ensure all the space for holiday-making we are ever likely to need', (Ibid pp. 2-3). Through the following decades the relationship between land and leisure evolved. The heritage of food production, a return to local produce and sustainability and the farm has emerged as an attraction for the twenty-first century.

Throughout the case study the connections between the farm, the agricultural landscape and local food are apparent. Farm tourism in its various forms including farm holidays and agri-tourism evolved through the timescale. From the early twentieth century, to the promotion of rural tourism in the late 1970s and its renaissance following the foot-and-mouth epidemic in 2001, the farm has played an important role in the development of Devon's tourism .

Cookery Schools, visits to vineyards, farm trails, food festivals and markets have each contributed to the tourism experience, often adding value to locally sources foods. Darrin Hosegrove, Chef Director

of the Ashburton Cookery School in Devon noted that many ‘pupils’ bought the local produce they had used during their time at the school from local suppliers in the town upon completion of their course. Food produced in Devon travels out of the county as an export and this is vital to the economy of the county, but it is evident that food and drink production are inextricably linked to tourism.

The legacy of agriculture has adapted to the demands of a dynamic industry and discerning customer base. That agriculture is seen to play such an important role in tourism is not new, the farm has been involved with the industry for generations, but it has evolved. From Bed and Breakfast, paying guests to rural and farm tourism, within the span of a century demonstrates the evolutionary dimension of tourism and farming. South West Tourism (2006) describes farm tourism as a sub-market of rural tourism. It is estimated that the ‘active farm tourism market is about a third of the overall farm tourism market.’ Another third, it is suggested, will ‘passively use farm tourism’ as part of the desired rural tourism experience. 15% of respondents ‘looked for home-produced food and drink’ when choosing accommodation on a working farm. The rural landscape and ‘peace and tranquillity’ were considered the major considerations when making a choice.

Agriculture and tourism have a long history in the county having emerged as a significant sector – *farm tourism*. Travellers frequently comment on the agriculture whether the terrain, crops, farming practice or produce. The landscape has attracted visitors for many years, it is a landscape inextricably linked to agriculture with its fertile land, fields and orchards.

Travellers and tourists throughout the time frame have used the farm as a base for their stay in Devon which provided an authentic connection with the land and its economy. It was the farmers’ wives who provided food and accommodation for the tourists. Early forms of farm tourism provided additional income (usually for the farmer’s wife) whilst utilising produce from the farm. Later diversification led to a boom in the development of farm holidays. The farm was promoted as a popular tourist destination during the inter-war period. An interest in the countryside and health – through fresh air and rambling - encouraged many holiday makers to visit the countryside.

Using Devon as a case study provides an opportunity to explore and investigate the evolution of the relationship between food and tourism from food as a feature of the tourism experience to Devon as a food tourism destination.



This chapter aimed to explain trends and patterns in the provision of food for tourists, and to establish relationships between food and tourism in Devon. It has shown that tourists' interests and subsequent relationships with food are influenced by many factors, social, economic and political. It has demonstrated the evolution of the county in terms of food, from a food-producing area with tourism to a food tourism destination. Food, its production and consumption has played an important role in Devon's tourism. The county is associated with agriculture which has influenced its tourism development. Farming is associated with tourism, through the production of food and through diversification. The co-production of two major industries, agriculture and tourism, is significant to the economy of the county. Throughout the century the farm and the rural lifestyle have appealed to tourists, providing a physical connection to the landscape of the county.

The case study has revealed that twentieth century Devon as a food destination is complex. It represents a relationship between food, food production, agriculture, tourism, food tourism and the evolution of these industries through a denominator – food.

## **Chapter 8**

### **Conclusions and suggestions for future research**

## 8.1 Introduction

The aims of the thesis were stated as to investigate the evolving relationship between food and tourism through the twentieth century using the county of Devon as a case study. The intentions of this chapter are to present the findings resulting from the research, and to offer conclusions, limitations and potential for future studies.

In the introduction to the research it was suggested that the relationships between food and tourism were perhaps not fully understood and had not been studied in the context of one location over an extended timescale of the twentieth century. Consequently food tourism's evolution (in the context of Devon) has not been fully exploited or explained. This thesis has demonstrated that relationships between food and tourism do evolve and that their development extends beyond food and holiday, drawing on numerous features of a destination. These include heritage, culture and the geography of a landscape.

The aim of this chapter is to offer some explanation of the developing relationships between food and tourism through the twentieth century using Devon as a case study. It provides a summary of the main findings synonymous with the four research objectives. These are derived from the combination and synthesis of archival data and interview transcriptions. The objectives and a précis of their key findings are presented in table 8.1. These indicate that there have been many changes in the evolving relationships between food and tourism. For example the findings for objective 4 in table 8.1 identified concerns about health, global issues, the environment and the emergence of food tourism.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of the research implications and offers directions for future research.

**Table 8.1 Key findings**

Objectives	Findings
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<b>1</b> <b>to provide an overview of the development of tourism in Devon through the twentieth century</b>	Continuity and change Interest in the everyday and mundane Interest in food Health resorts Landscape and agriculture Fordist – Post Fordist consumption Experience economy
<b>2</b> <b>to investigate and establish the relationships between food and tourism in Devon</b>	Landscape and agriculture Motivations and deterrents Foodways Food tourism Food souvenirs Food and health Classifications/typologies of tourists
<b>3</b> <b>to identify past and current provision of foods for tourists visiting the county</b>	Eating out – transition from tea shop to Michelin star restaurant A Gastronomic reason for coming to Devon Commercial and domestic domains The narration of travel and tourism
<b>4</b> <b>to explain trends and patterns in the provision of food for tourists in Devon</b>	Global issues – health/environment Authenticity and Nostalgia Heritage – cultural tourism Patterns of consumption and eating out Style of outlets fast food to slow food Sustainability Events, fairs, festivals and foodways Celebration – celebrification Emergence of food tourism

Source, author

## 8.2 Objective 1

*to provide an overview of the development and evolution of tourism in Devon through the twentieth century*

The timescale of the research spans the twentieth century, it transcends the curiosity of tourists in the early twentieth century to the experience economy of Pine and Gilmore (1999). A timescale identifies eras, each contributing to the evolution of Devon's tourism. Through the literature and archival data reviewed in chapters 2 and 3 it is clear that this represents many interests, aesthetics, landscape, agriculture, health, its climate and geography.

These represent both continuity and change in that through the century tourists have expressed an interest in the county as a destination, and that over time this has changed to embrace concerns of health in the 1920s and 30s to ethical and environmental issues of the latter decades.

There has been an interest in food shown throughout the twentieth century in the context of tourism. This emanates from agricultural production and to the emergence of farmers' markets and the local produce featured on menus and in food products.

### **8.2.1 Health and tourism**

An important and enduring theme in the evolution of tourism in Devon has been the interest in food connected to health. Through the long century, it is interpreted in each era, from the ideals advocated by the Society of the Golden Age of the early twentieth century, the health resort and sun worship of the 1920s and 30s (linked to the modern movement and modernism which is later superseded by post-modernism and hedonistic consumption), and latterly to the work of organisations such as Slow Food. Founded in 1989, Slow Food aims to link the pleasure of food with a commitment to the environment, health, local food culture and agriculture. These interests are important as they reflect the existing and prevailing knowledge of the time. The concept of health in relation to tourism changes over time, for example the climate and benefits of sunshine were extolled in the first half of the twentieth century but are now regarded with caution as tourists have an awareness of health risks associated with exposure to the sun. This interest is related to the environment, and in terms of food is demonstrated in consumers' interests in origins, traceability, food miles, seasonality, organics, and ethics. A generation of tourists (consumers) aware, informed, interested, discerning and sophisticated was identified through the interviews in chapter 6.

The meaning of health in the context of tourism changes over time but is closely connected to food. In the example of Devon this is significant as the food in Devon was frequently perceived as better and healthier than elsewhere. It was sometimes expressed as an assumption that it would be *better* in the country. In the context of tourism the holiday diet and food encountered is different to the norm and for many tourists was a major motivation and contributed significantly to the experience. Devon was regarded as a healthy place to holiday.

### **8.2.2 Destination Devon**

At the start of the timescale the concept of otherness was evident and Devon was repeatedly compared to other European destinations (for example the South of France, Italy and Switzerland) in terms of its scenery and climate. This represented a tradition of romantic comparisons dating from eras prior to the twentieth century.

The south and north coastal resorts and attractions were often equated to the Riviera or Rhine, allusions which demonstrated contrasting geographical aspects of the county. This has changed through the period of the research although Torquay's current promotional brochure (2010) describes the resort in terms of England's Riviera. Respondents suggested that, now resorts that were once exclusive, inaccessible and unobtainable have become attainable, the county is appreciated for its individuality and identity and not perceived as a less costly alternative or substitute.

The interest in agriculture and rural communities remained constant throughout the timescale. This has evolved from the benevolent curiosity of early twentieth century tourists to that of an informed and discerning market a hundred years later. The interest in the countryside and Devon as a resort contributed to the popularity of holiday homes and second homes and for some respondents gave a reason for returning and in several cases to live permanently. Jones (1908: pp.74-75) describes village life for an interested market, one curious about the rural way of life which might be experienced through tourism.

Although the county was often described in terms of its history and tradition (Chapters 2 and 3), the concept of modernism and tourism is significant in twentieth century Devon. In the county as in other resorts in the UK and throughout Europe this is reflected in an architectural style which encouraged the consumption of the sun and leisure activities. This promoted

Devon as a modern health resort and was encouraged by work of the British Health Resorts Association. This image is perhaps an aesthetic contrast to the picturesque and romantic images of a century earlier and a precursor to Post-modern, Fordist and Neo-Fordist patterns of consumption of the late twentieth century.

Through the timescale it is apparent that food developed into an experience and subsequently an important aspect of the experience economy. For example, in the first quarter of the twentieth century the experience of eating out was restricted to the refined cafes and hotels and the interest in food in the rural economy which was identified in Chapters 5, 6, and 7. This can be paralleled and contrasted with the later interest and demand for the Michelin-starred dining experience and the interest in sustainable production, field kitchens and canteens. Eating out as a tourist activity has changed throughout the timescale, from occasional treat to become a regular and routine leisure activity. This trend reflects changes in society, consumption and tourism. The prevalence of eating out and eating out as an experience, with food service as a means of product differentiation is synonymous with the evolution of the experience economy. The experience of food is an important stage in the evolution between food and tourism as has been the emergence of Devon as a food destination, or a destination with a reputation for food.

The development and evolution of tourism reflects many concerns, social, cultural, ethical and environmental. These are a prelude to the evolving relationships between food and tourism.

### **8.3 Objective 2**

#### ***To investigate and establish the relationships between food and tourism in Devon***

Chapter 2 reviewed the relationships and interests between food and tourism, and Chapter 3 identified the relationships in the context of Devon. Tourists' relationships with food and tourism were identified as complex, a relationship between landscape and agriculture, a landscape which not only serves the needs of tourists but is also agricultural and reliant on food production.

The evolutionary dimension of the thesis shows how food has become an event, experience and major motivation to visit a particular region or destination. That the region may be identified with food as a tourist attraction, as in Devon, is important in the emergence of regional food tourism and Devon as a food destination.

The interest in food has evolved, sophisticated, discerning clientele in many instances but that the typologies of food tourists indicate that there are those who appear to have little or no interest in food as part of the tourism experience. The typologies are polarised with the so-called laggards and those with high levels of interest in food. However, the research indicated that those tourists claiming to have little or no awareness of food, or were not motivated by food, did in fact display an interest in food.

Tourists may be classified according to their interests in food. These have become specialised and now represent a diverse and fragmented market. Levels of interest identified in the latter part of the twentieth century, Hall and Williams (2003: p.11) suggests that in earlier decades an interest in food perhaps was latent or was simply not recognised. Prior to the work of pioneering food writers and journalists such as Florence White in the 1930s, (who identified local foods and their availability) food was often only mentioned in guidebooks in addition to other detail and was not accorded its own publication. The development of the motoring guides, (Michelin, AA and RAC) with their hotel and restaurant supplements and travel guides for example, Ashley Courtney's, *Let's halt awhile* advised the travelling public of availability and standards.

Classifying tourists in terms of their food interests and subsequently producing typologies of food tourists has become more specialised in the last quarter of the timescale. However, it is difficult to categorise tourists according to their interests in food, some who may be classified as laggards or disinterested reveal during interview that they are interested in food and display a latent interest. Some clearly stated that they were not interested in food and that it did not attract them to Devon but in the course of discussion spoke about food, their observations suggesting that food whether a meal eaten out or blackberries gathered from the hedgerow had contributed to the enjoyment of their holiday.

A significant tourist activity appeared to be shopping for food souvenirs. The popularity of food souvenirs seemed to connect the consumer with the landscape, and the point and place of production of foodstuffs. Food souvenirs differ from others such as photographs and trinkets in that they are perishable and intended for consumption, not to be stored as mementos. Souvenirs derived from restaurants and cookery schools represent another stage in the evolution of the food tourism relationship where the tourist draws on the experience of the restaurant or school by purchasing cookery books, ingredients and equipment in order to replicate culinary aspects of that experience at home.

The role of food as a souvenir and the role of food as an attraction are important to the evolution of food and tourism relationship. It was evident that from *Cream by post* to the home delivery of vegetable boxes from organic farms the purchasing of food at the point and place of production is important as a means of connecting the tourist to food. This demonstrated that there are tangible and intangible components of the tourist souvenir, and that buying at the point and place of production is crucial in establishing a relationship between place, product and production. It is important to appreciate that food-related tourist souvenirs are economically important to the county (and tourism) and have changed, and evolved from the ubiquitous to the specialised. Items purchased at the point and place of production affirmed the association of place not only with the product but frequently established a relationship between producer/retailer and the purchaser. The food souvenir reflects interests in food through the timescale for example in the early twentieth century references are limited mostly to clotted cream and confectionery but later extends to fish, meat, cheese and wine as shown in tables, 6.2, 7.1, and 7.2.

The range of souvenirs was shown to have increased through the timescale. This suggested a more discerning and informed consumer base, greater levels of affluence and spending and tourists actively seeking local products purchased or consumed at the point and place of production. At the beginning of the twentieth century the range of food souvenirs was limited, usually clotted cream or confectionery. It was not until the end of the timescale that this began to change, indicating the influence and awareness of local foods, ethics of food production, green issues, carbon footprint.

Thus the importance of food as a souvenir and the ways in which the purchasing of food and food related items contributes to the tourism economy and the experience of tourism. From postcards and clotted cream by post to locally produced meats and cheeses food has been regarded as an important element of the relationship and connection with place.

The relationship between food and tourism embraces attraction, motivation and experience. They are important, at one level food and tourism relationships are complex relationships between tourists, producers, and commodities in the context of leisure consumption.

The relationship between food and tourism includes the hospitality sector. However it does not solely rely on this, food in the domestic domain and food as an experience often occurs outside the commercial domain of hotel and restaurant.



#### 8.4 Objective 3

##### *To identify past and current provision of foods for tourists visiting the county*

The provision of food for tourists is not confined to the commercial outlets of cafes, tearooms and restaurants. Through the timescale of the twentieth century there is considerable evidence that food was consumed within the commercial and domestic domains. Drawing on the experience and legacy of previous travellers and their records of food, for example, Defoe, Harris and Shaw indicate the interest stimulated by food. From the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and through the twentieth century, the narratives of tourists are a valuable source of detail regarding the provision of food whether a meal or souvenir. Food is evocative and frequently stimulated recall, unlocking memories. Personal details and recollections of meals and particular foods demonstrated the importance of food through the life cycle, from childhood treats to shared family meals and eating out.

Records of eating out through the twentieth century are important sources of detail informing the researcher of levels of interest – in eating out and the style of food – meals and the foods consumed. The hospitality sector illustrates it is a culinary journey or foodway, encompassing the commercial and domestic domain. It represents a transition from tea shop and cafe consumption to Michelin-star restaurant. However the scope and popularity of outlets in the latter part of the timescale indicates greater choice and a trend for global cuisine in addition to the local. In the early twentieth century commercial food provision was characterised by adaptations of classic Haute Cuisine dishes, with occasional references to new culinary imports such as Waffle bars and American Soda fountains. Following the growth in package tours in the post-war period consumer tastes were, in part, tempted by the foods sampled in the Mediterranean resorts and there was a proliferation of themed restaurants serving foods inspired by France, Italy, India and China. It was interesting to note that some changes were regarded as reducing differentiation in regional cookery and that menus offered an international culinary ‘sameness’.

From the period in the 1970s when the traditional hotel menu was challenged by the introduction of a new style of cookery and food presentation, the so-called *Nouvelle Cuisine*, it was suggested there was a gastronomic reason for visiting Devon. This was focused on

specific outlets, the hotel and restaurant, (Gidleigh Park, Chagford for innovative haute cuisine, and The Imperial Hotel Torquay, especially for its ‘gastronomic weekends’) that had acquired a reputation for their food and for providing something that was not available elsewhere. The uniqueness was not singularly culinary, the location of the outlets in the countryside of Devon was an important aspect of their attraction. The interviews with tourists and producers provided detail of the culinary evolution which affected consumers’ choice and tastes in becoming more discerning and demanding.

The provision of food for tourists through the timescale demonstrated an evolution in that by the late twentieth century there was greater choice and expectation in terms of food and especially local produce. The provision of food was not restricted to commercial food outlets in the form of hotels or restaurants but now included specialist food shops and markets enabling local foods to be sampled and consumed at home.

## **8.5 Objective 4**

### ***To explain trends and patterns in the provision of food for tourists in Devon***

This thesis has investigated the evolving relationships between food and tourism. It has presented an evolution spanning eras of food and tourism in the early twentieth century to food tourism. The changing pattern of food provision is one that represents an evolution, a process both local and global. The tourist industry is regarded as diverse and fragmented, and has evolved and grown through the timescale of the twentieth century. This includes the influences of tourism in a broader context including farm, rural, and experiential. Tourism is regarded as significant to the economy of a region and that in the case of Devon this is associated with food and agriculture. Consumers’ interests in global issues for example health and the environment are regularly connected to tourism and leisure consumption and ultimately food. Food and tourism also denote the social and economic relationships between manufacturing and service sectors, a co-existence or partnership between industries.

An important trend has been the growth in the interest in food and the emergence of foodways in the anthropological study of food, (Long 2004: pp. 11 - 13) where food is studied from cultural, social and economic practices relating to the production and consumption of food.

Tradition and a quest for authenticity were traits perceived throughout the twentieth century timescale. These were portrayed as a quest for times that were, sometimes, a nostalgia

transcending tourism that today is reflected in sustainable and ethical values. In terms of food and tourism and food tourism, the past is significant, as a measure of values, representing something better and manifested in the integrity of food and its production. The perception of the past by tourists and the industry is perhaps linked to a time when things were perceived as being better, often a reconstructed past, and food is presented in this context to tourists. Much of the literature and archival data indicated an interest in, and yearning for, the past, heritage and nostalgia.

Food and tourism are often promoted emphasising elements of heritage and tradition but of today, hence the labels of organic, artisan, and sustainable associated with many foods and featured on menus. This is in part supported by the rise in celebrity culture, (Pointer VisitBritain Insights: 2009) and for some respondents the media profile of the celebrity chef was a motivation in visiting the county.

The county presents itself as combining the qualities of heritage and modernity and this is evident in the tourist promotional materials dating from the early twentieth century. Through the timescale the emphasis may change but the significance of the past is evident, from small-scale rural and agricultural production, to historic inns and hotels (The Royal Clarence Hotel Exeter *England's first hotel* proclaims a 1980s press release) there are allusions to the past. From the literature reviews, archival research and interviews it is evident, and important, that the past is utilised but does not present an area as a museum.

Food is a subject both emotive and evocative, and the consumption of food on holiday differs from the regular and routine. This is part of the attraction for many visitors. Consumer expectations of a region and the differentiation of food in Devon were suggested as reasons for visiting the county. Throughout the timescale the quality of the food in the county was stated as making it different from others. The perceived quality of food ingredients was high and frequently connected to the rich lush pastureland and landscape. From the 1970s the quality and scope of restaurants and food outlets including Slow Food, organic and sustainable was identified as a motivation and attraction.

The promotion of a region for its food in the context of tourism was provided in the example of Devon as a food destination. This was shown in the growth of commercial food festivals and markets and organisations promoting Devon's food, for example, *Eat the view*, and *Food and Drink Devon*. At the beginning of the timescale of the research Devon was known for the quality of its food and as a place where tourists could enjoy good food but this has evolved so

that within a century the county is regarded as a food destination. The opportunities for food tourism activities and experiences included the proliferation of food festivals, farmers, markets, events and the celebration of local food. The origins of these markets demonstrate the continuity in Devon's history as a food producer. These were acknowledged by respondents as important but that they had developed as attractions late in the timescale although some such as Barnstaple's pannier market had attracted the attention of earlier travellers and tourists. They are important, too, in the quest for authenticity in terms of food, real, artisan and traditional which is linked to tourists' activities and expectations. As food, and food tourism events these are significant as they are opportunities for regional promotion and celebrity endorsement.

While many tourists are motivated by the prospect of new experiences in tourism the possibility of consuming traditional and what might be described as authentic foods is an attraction. These are important in the formation and continuity of local identity and in Devon may be associated with farming, fishing, cider and, recently viticulture (wine making). A limited range of traditional dishes were identified in Chapter 7, table 7.3 however the commercial offering in most establishments was restricted to the cream tea and use of ingredients rather than dishes such as junket or apple dumplings. Some establishments appeared to make greater use of local produce, but these tended to be the independent or local not the chains.

Although there is little evidence to support the promotion of traditional dishes (as shown in Chapter 7, plate 7.2 p.341) from the region some producers are making cheeses and meat products inspired by the past. A resurgence in traditional ingredients and food production, traditional recipes and production confer an assurance of quality, linking place and product and appeals to tourists. At the beginning of the timescale dishes associated with the county are described in tourist literature for example Corelli (1896), Williamson (1933, 1941, and 1945) and Sarsby (2004). By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century most have disappeared and demonstrate how tastes change and evolve and are subject to external influences, media, overseas travel and consumption patterns.

The significance of differentiation between the domestic and commercial domains of hospitality and food production is important. The importance of food in the domestic domain should not be overlooked as it has contributed to the evolving food and tourism relationship.

Many of the respondents described their farmhouse holidays where they ate *en famille* as influential, memorable and enjoyable.

Though this is not new it emphasises the distinction between the commercial and domestic domains of provision. There is a distinction too between the commercial and domestic provision of food. The commercial provision has changed, and grown through the century, it tends to reflect trends rather than to innovate, but there are elements of regionality specific to Devon as in its country house hotels, resort hotels which are linked to the landscape of the county. The rural characteristics of the county are often perceived as a strength as opposed to a weakness. That the tourist may have access to the countryside and can have some involvement and connection with the food they consume is regarded as a marketing strength. The remoteness of the region for some was regarded as an asset as tourists are distanced from larger urban centres this can exemplify the connection with the land and food production.

The importance of data collection, the archival elements in conjunction with the interviews and oral histories, was crucial to objective 4. The potential of these to teach us about the evolution of relationships that is important in the development and expansion of two industries, food and tourism. The data collection process identified a diminishing resource of a stratified and diverse tourism memory bank, yielding life and work histories. These provided a snapshot of tourism at a given time in addition to contributing to the tapestry of the long century. There were numerous examples included in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

Food is a vital component of tourism but one that is multifunctional, food sustains, entertains and educates. The relationships between food and tourism are complex, essential but discretionary and food is often both an attraction and motivation for visiting a particular destination. However, this changes over time and is affected by topical and external events such as the economy, fashions and trends in tourism, food, health, and global events.

## **8.6 Key Contributions**

This thesis aspires to inform industry, practitioners and those with an interest in the phenomenon of tourism with not just a story of the past, but one of the present and future. It is one that will help in developing an understanding of the unique qualities of the county as a food producer, and tourist destination.

The originality of this research rests not only in the presentation of Devon and its food in the context of tourism but also in the combination of resources and data it has utilised. The

amalgamation of multiple sources of data brings together a case study, oral histories with both tourists and industry, and numerous archival resources. These were enhanced by diversity in terms of age, media and source including the Mass Observation archive and Pathe Newsreels.

The evolution of the food and tourism relationship from the early twentieth century shows how food has been used to attract tourists combined with elements of heritage, folklore and culture. It is presented through the timescale eras in relation to topical concerns, health, the environment, ethics, and global warming. These changes are important in an evolution as they affect the way in which food is presented to tourists. This can be illustrated using the example of health. During the 1930s medical and nutritional concerns were evident in promotional materials, advertisements and text in brochures and guidebooks. These are paralleled in the early twenty-first century, with concerns about food production, food miles, traceability and sourcing linked to health and environmental concerns now from a global perspective. This is important and demonstrates how consumers are affected by world events that embrace their food and leisure consumption.

Studying one location over a period of time confers benefits and certain limitations. It offers the opportunity to study development and evolution in a specific place but not in isolation as tourism connects hosts and tourists. As shown this is an evolving relationship between cultures and lifestyles unified through food.

Towner and Wall (1991: pp. 71-73) suggest that the discipline of history can help our understanding of tourism's development. History is concerned with the dimension of time and attempts to understand social processes and institutions within this context. The temporal study of food and tourism has been used in this thesis in the explanation of their evolution in the context of tourism. History is the study of the past as revealed by present evidence and indicates that history considers the transformation of things (people, places, institutions, ideas) through time, from one state into another Towner and Wall (1991: pp. 71-73). It is this distinctive view which forms history's contribution to tourism studies.

The research found that relationships between food and tourism evolve and change over time. Through the timescale these are discovered to be subject to external influences, political, economic, social, and technological. For example in times of adversity whether war, economic depression, or disasters the county innovates and responds utilising food and tourism. The relationships formed between food and tourism are complex and may reflect

traditions, heritage, culture, nostalgia, in combination with elements of the past, whether recent or distant. However, there appear to be a gap in the historiography of food and tourism, and the relationships between tourism and its related activities and interests.

The relationships between food and tourism have evolved, and changed through the time frame of the twentieth century. Some illustrate both change and continuity, for example agriculture and its associated tourism experiences shown in table 7.2. Some represent the new, the cookery schools and food festivals, and some are topical and change as with medical and health-related tourism as expounded by Black (1890, 1908).

Throughout the timescale of the twentieth century what is constant is the appeal of Devon, its landscape, and its food. Together, these have proved to be a unique and enduring combination of place, product and quality.

This thesis has identified the lack of a specific tourism archive within local and national collections. It has demonstrated ways in which research resources are diverse and dispersed, temporal and ephemeral. The use of qualitative research in tourism yielded much data but appears to be undervalued and underutilised, whether oral history or the narratives of travel and tourism.

### **8.6.1 Limitations of the research**

There are constraints in terms of time and money in conducting the research. Qualitative research is a lengthy process researching diverse and dispersed archival resources. The twentieth century timescale of the research provided opportunities to access a wide range of records utilising the written and recorded word, and the media. Therefore it is possible to provide examples for each of the research eras.

A selection of guidebooks, pamphlets and tourism ephemera utilised within this research has indicated the significance of food in tourism's evolution in Devon. Through the eras of the timescale these indicate how the industry was evolving and the interest shown in food. For some publications records were incomplete, for example specific guidebooks were not published during World War Two, or issues were missing. The data is representative if not comprehensive.

The interview sample of 33 was characteristic of the eras, and its demographics (see Chapter 4 table 4.22, p. 150) enabled 85 years of the century to be recalled. It did not target a specific

era or socio-demographic group, therefore was not *middle* or *working class* and was self-selecting.

There were geographical limits as Devon was selected as a case study. Specific resorts were not identified but rather led by the interviews and analysis of the archival data. As one of the South West counties, further studies could compare Devon with other counties, or its resorts with others.

### **8.7 Directions for future research**

Researching the thesis identified the potential of the archive, and the temporal study confirmed the value of using oral histories, narrative and life stories as a means of recording the way in which the industry has evolved in one location. The individuals interviewed for this thesis represent a diminishing generational resource, both individual and collective. These emphasise the values of the written and spoken word in qualitative research and their importance in tourism planning and development.

Future research could be developed by the extension of the study on a micro level, perhaps at one resort or in one domain such as the hospitality sector, conversely this might be considered at a macro-level focusing on a larger region. Further studies might involve working with industry to share the experiences of tourists. It may be possible to establish a tourism archive and resources in order to understand the needs of consumers and providers. For example the classification of tourists according to their interests in food does not adequately reflect the latent interests identified where tourists claimed not to be interested but displayed curiosity and awareness of food.

Food and tourism presents many opportunities for research. From the materials utilised in this thesis it is evident that there is much to be done in order to develop our understanding of the evolution of relationships between food and tourism.



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## Appendix 1

**Paul Cleave, University of Exeter**

***From Cream teas to Michelin Stars, Devon has it all!***

**Devon can be proud of its culinary heritage, but how this has developed and what it is that makes the county's food so special?**

**For years Devon has been famous for its food and generations of tourists visiting the county have enjoyed the high quality of its produce. Did you visit the county because of its food? Are you involved in food and farming in Devon? Are you involved in running a hotel, café, restaurant, guest house or provide bed and breakfast? Do you have memories of the food provided for tourists in Devon over the years?**

**Paul Cleave, PhD student at the University of Exeter is currently researching the way in which food has become part of Devon's tourism product. He would like to speak to anyone who is involved in providing food for tourists, and from those who have stayed in Devon as tourists.**

**If you have any memories you would like to share please contact Paul on 01363 774582 or online at [pec203@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:pec203@exeter.ac.uk)**

**He would love to hear from you!**

## Appendix 2

Questionnaire for the Ussher Society Geologists Conference 2008



### **Food and tourism in Devon Questionnaire**

As a PhD research student at the University of Exeter I am exploring the relationships between food and tourism in Devon and am very interested to learn how food has become part of the tourism experience in the county.

I would be most grateful if you could spare 10-15 minutes of your time to contribute to my research by completing this questionnaire.

For further details. I can be contacted via email at [pec203@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:pec203@exeter.ac.uk)

#### **About your time in Devon**

Please tick as appropriate

Do you live in Devon    Yes ☐    No ☐

If you are not resident in Devon where do you live, Please state.....

Have you visited Devon as a tourist?    Yes ☐    No ☐

If you have, what was the purpose of your visit?

Business ☐ holiday ☐ visiting friends and family ☐ education ☐

other, please state.....

If you have visited Devon for a holiday how long did you stay?

3 days ☐ 5 days ☐ 7 days ☐ longer ☐ more than once a year ☐

When have you stayed as a tourist in Devon Tick as many decades as appropriate.

1930s ☐ 1940s ☐ 1950s ☐ 1960s ☐ 1970s ☐ 1980s ☐ 1990s ☐ 2000s ☐

What type of accommodation did you use Tick as many as appropriate,

Hotel ☐ guest house ☐ country house hotel ☐ self catering ☐

with friends or family ☐ other ☐ please state.....

### About Food

Whilst on holiday did you eat out in,

Cafes ☐ restaurants ☐ hotels ☐ others ☐ please state.....

.....

Did the reputation of the food in Devon attract you to the county

Yes ☐ please state how.....

.....

No ☐ please state why.....

.....

Which local foods did you try whilst on holiday in Devon

Clotted cream, ☐ cider ☐ fish ☐ meat ☐ pasties ☐ cream teas ☐ others please state.....

.....

How would you describe the quality of the foods you tried

Not satisfactory ☐

Satisfactory ☐

No opinion ☐

Good ☐

Excellent ☐

Did you take any local food products home as souvenirs

Yes ☐ please state which products below.

No ☐

.....

During your holiday did you visit any food festivals ☐ farm shops ☐ or farmers' market

☐

Please state which.....

*About you*

*Age range, please tick*

<b>18 – 24 yrs</b>
<b>25 – 34 yrs</b>
<b>35 – 44 yrs</b>
<b>45 – 59 yrs</b>
<b>60+ yrs</b>

*Occupation.....*

**Male** ☐ **Female** ☐

***Thank you for your time and cooperation in completing this questionnaire.***



## Appendix 3

Interview with Aviva Pearson

### **Interview with Aviva Pearson,**

### **Director of Tourism, Torbay Council & English Riviera Tourist Board.**

**18<sup>th</sup> July 2008**

Interview arranged via email through a recommendation from Flo Powell at the Tourism Society.

Aviva Pearson agreed for the interview to be recorded.

Commentary,

#### 1 Fish Brixham

'Highest value catch in England - £40m pa, 40 different species, diverse including non-quota stock. The fish market produce goes mainly to high-end restaurants. The fish bought locally includes produce imported from Grimsby and Hull. The attraction of the quay is to be developed including a restaurant, cookery school and will increase the dynamics of the visitor offer using locally caught fish. The idea of public/tourists actually viewing the catch was not considered feasible as it was unpredictable and not easily regulated. A viewing area would be included in the new quay.

#### 2 Sustainable tourism

This was being developed with schemes such as 'love the flavour'. The cream tea festival and local food events such as food markets and the Ocombe farm Project (Dominic Ackland) enabled tourists to interact with producers and introduce an educational element in the tourism interface.

#### 3 The semiotics of food and tourism

Food is embedded in tourism, from eating away from home to pick-your-own.

The images of food and tourism are evocative and food is also linked strongly to memory. Many tourists will take away specific memories associated with food and the place of consumption, Devon, Torquay, and the café or shop. Images too, evoke memories and stimulate interest in the destination.

4 Food as a 'sub-culture' that defines an area. In Torquay it is an important USP with Agatha Christie and the English Riviera. (Torquay is about to be re-branded) Cultural events provide opportunities for local food to be introduced and add enhancement to sub-brands and products, also adds value to the event. (Provides producers with an opportunity to sell out maybe producing a special product linked to the event, especially if combined with something quirky) Food and festivals such as music events give the opportunity to brand out food to the event. Local food ties with area. It has a long association with tourism as well.

5 Disney embedded food into the theme parks, it is an integral component of the product (Commercialised and educational) Contrast America with UK.....

6 The market for tourism in Torquay,

95% domestic which is set to grow by 1%

The market is approx' 1/3 youth, 1/3 family and 1/3 empty nesters

6% coach holidays

1 Michelin star restaurant

The interview demonstrated the importance of planning, and of mapping the results during transcription but also for the structure of the interviews to be semi-structured. Each respondent has a different story and experiences to draw from therefore a formal or rigid structure might reduce the potential for data collection.

Objectives covered by questions with Director of Tourism

Table 4.7

Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Objective 1		*		*	*			*		
Objective 2	*					*				*
Objective 3							*		*	
Objective 4			*							*

Appendix 4, correspondence; HRH The Prince of Wales, overleaf, cover of The National Trust Magazine, Autumn, 2008.



CLARENCE HOUSE  
LONDON SW1A 1BA

From: The Private Secretary to  
TRH The Prince of Wales and The Duchess of Cornwall

**PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL**

26th September, 2008

*Mr Cleave,*

The Prince of Wales has asked me to thank you most warmly for your letter of the 19th September about his article in the National Trust magazine.

His Royal Highness entirely shares your view that food and tourism are intimately connected and, indeed, this is a message which he has been trying to deliver for the last ten years. I thought that you might be particularly interested to see a copy of the speech he made at the launch of British Tourism Week in 2007 and the launch of his North Highland Initiative Tourism Brand in 2006.

His Royal Highness hopes very much that you will continue your efforts to promote food as a critical element of tourism and he has asked me to send you his warmest good wishes.

*Miss Buchanan*

Miss Elizabeth Buchanan

Paul Cleave Esq.

Marguerite Patten OBE

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19<sup>th</sup> May 2008

Dear Mr. Cleave

Many thanks for your letter and card of the 14<sup>th</sup> May. I am pleased to hear you are going to emphasise the amount of food wasted in your presentation at Caste Drogo.

With regard to your final paragraph, I have a great deal of knowledge of Devon. I have worked there on a number of occasions and my late husband and I thoroughly enjoyed our holidays in Devon, mainly based in Plymouth. Devon has always been a favourite holiday part and I think people would list the wonderful scenery, the mild climate and the food.

I receive a present of Devonshire cream every Christmas. The cream teas of Devon (and, I am afraid, Cornwall too) are always something that people enjoy and talk about at great length.

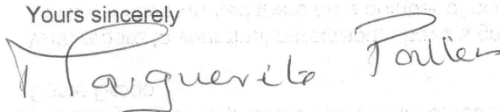
I very much regret we do not see Junket these days as much as in the past. In hot weather it was one of the most refreshing and suitable desserts.

I think we all enjoy the excellent fish in Devon.

You are, of course, very fortunate in Devon in having The Castle Hotel in Taunton where the reputation for good food is unrivalled. I have stayed there on business and given demonstrations in Taunton.

I do hope these facts will be helpful for you.

Yours sincerely



Marguerite Patten

**Relationship between Food and Tourism**

WALLIS CHARLIE [Charlie.Wallis@Culture.gsi.gov.uk]

**Sent:** 19 January 2009 13:20

**To:** Cleave, Paul

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Thank you for your e-mail to Barbara Follett about our research based on the evolving relationship between food and tourism in Devon. I suggest that you contact the South West of England Regional Development Agency for the advice you require. Their address is:

South West of England Regional Development Agency  
Corporate Headquarters  
Sterling House  
Dix's Field  
Exeter  
Devon  
EX1 1QA

Telephone: 01392 214 747

Fax: 01392 214 848

Thank you for your e-mail to the Minister.

Charlie Wallis  
Department for Culture Media and Sport

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## Food and tourism in Devon

Q1 Where do you live, please state county in UK or country

Q2 If you have visited Devon for a holiday how long did you stay, please state, for example, 3 days, 5 days, 1 week, longer

Q3 When have you stayed as a tourist in Devon. Please click as many decades as appropriate. 1, 1930s 2, 1940s 3 1950s, 4 1960s, 5 1970s, 6, 1980s, 7, 1990s 8, 2000s

- ☐ Click to write Choice 1 (1)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 2 (2)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 3 (3)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 4 (4)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 5 (5)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 6 (6)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 7 (7)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 8 (8)

Q4 What type of accommodation did you use. Please click as appropriate, choice 1 hotel, choice 2 guest house or bed and breakfast, choice 3 country house hotel, choice 4 self catering, choice 5 with friends or relatives choice 6 farmhouse

- ☐ Click to write Choice 1 (1)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 2 (2)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 3 (3)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 4 (4)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 5 (5)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 6 (6)

Q5 While on holiday where did you eat? Please click as appropriate, 1 cafes, 2 restaurants, 3 hotels, 4 gastro-pubs, 5 themed restaurants, 6 chain restaurants, 7 tourist attractions such as theme park or stately home

- ☐ Click to write Choice 1 (1)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 2 (2)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 3 (3)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 4 (4)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 5 (5)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 6 (6)
- ☐ Click to write Choice 7 (7)



Q6 Did food attract you to Devon? If yes please state how . If no please state why.

Q7 Which of the following local foods did you try during your holiday in Devon. Please click on those you tried and rate their quality 1 Clotted cream, 2 cheese, 3 cider, 4 fish, 5 meat, 6 pasties, 7 cream teas 8 junket

Click to write Choice 1 (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Click to write Choice 2 (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Click to write Choice 3 (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Click to write Choice 4 (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Click to write Choice 5 (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Click to write Choice 6 (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Click to write Choice 7 (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Click to write Statement 8 (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q9 Did you take home any foods as souvenirs, if yes please state which such as clotted cream, or confectionery

Q10 During your holiday did you visit any food festivals, farm shops, or farmer's markets, please state which?

Q11 About you

- ☐ Male (1)
- ☐ Female (2)

Q12 What is your occupation, please state

Q13 Age range, please click as appropriate

- ☐ 18-24 (1)
- ☐ 25-34 (2)
- ☐ 35 -44 (3)
- ☐ 45 -59 (4)
- ☐ 60+ (5)

## Appendix 6 Questions used during the interview process

### **Questions for the supply respondents**

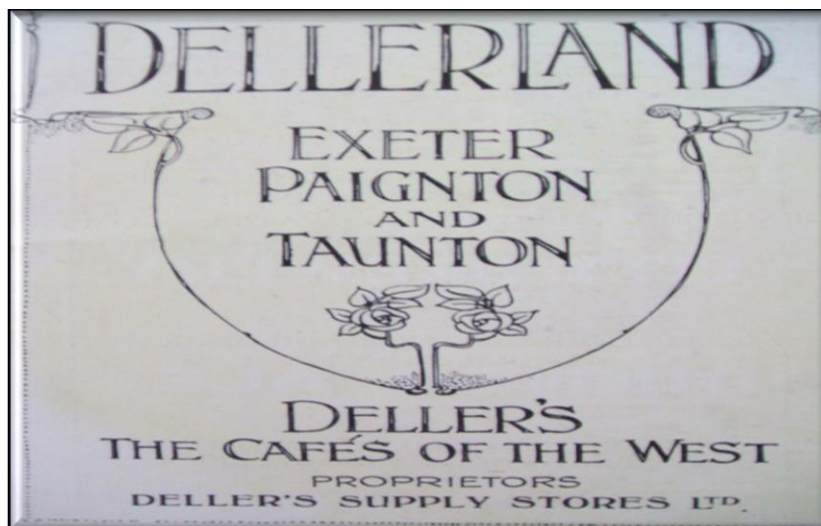
- 1 How much of your business is supported by tourism (estimate)?
- 2 How long have you been involved with tourism?
- 3 Is this your only business (diversification)?
- 4 Have you diversified into tourism? (If yes, why and what sector/market)
- 5 What foods do you provide for tourists? (Does this differ from the regular market?)
- 6 How has the business/product/market changed over time?
- 7 Which segments of the market do you attract?
- 8 Where do the tourists come from?
- 9 What foods do they demand; do they demand local foods or dishes?
- 10 What was/is provided 'just for tourists?'
- 11 Do tourists from particular regions in Britain, or elsewhere (Europe/Global) ask for particular foods or dishes?
- 12 How have tastes changed, or do they remain constant?
- 13 Are tourists interested in where their food comes from?
- 14 Do tourists purchase differently whilst on holiday?
- 15 In feedback how do tourists comment on food?

**Questions for the demand respondents**

- 1 Was food of interest to you in your experience as a tourist in Devon (at that time and your age as a tourist?)
- 2 Did you stay in an hotel, guest house, VFR or rented house?
- 3 Did food influence your choice of destination or accommodation? (for example farmhouse or luxury hotel)
- 4 If your holiday was self-catering did you eat local or different food?
- 5 Do you recall any particular foods associated with Devon, were these foods as in commodities such as cream, fish and cheese or dishes such as junket and cream teas?
- 6 Were any of these regarded as special or luxuries?
- 7 Did you give food as a present souvenir, if so which items?
- 8 Did you use restaurants/commercialised hospitality?
- 9 Was eating out regarded as a means of sustenance, entertainment, or experience as part of a visit to a museum, resort or attraction? (such as National Trust, Crealy Park)
- 10 If you visited Devon for many years did your food experiences change in any ways?
- 11 What would you associate with Devon now as opposed to earlier visits/eras?
- 12 Was the quality of the food good?
- 13 Do you (did you) ask for (demand) local food whilst on holiday?
- 14 Does local food act as a motivator or deterrent when choosing your destination?

Appendix 7, Deller's Cafes. Dellerland.

Deller's Cafe Exeter, Henry Hyams, RIBA, design for the interior of the main branch, c.1920.



Appendix 8, Laver gatherer. James Ravilious has captured the process of gathering laver and its preparation for sale at market. A noted 'antiscorbutic' its healthy properties were valued by early visitors to the county.

Tim Schiller gathering laver, Northam Burrows, Devon, 1975. Photo: James Ravilious for the Beaford Archive. © Beaford Arts.







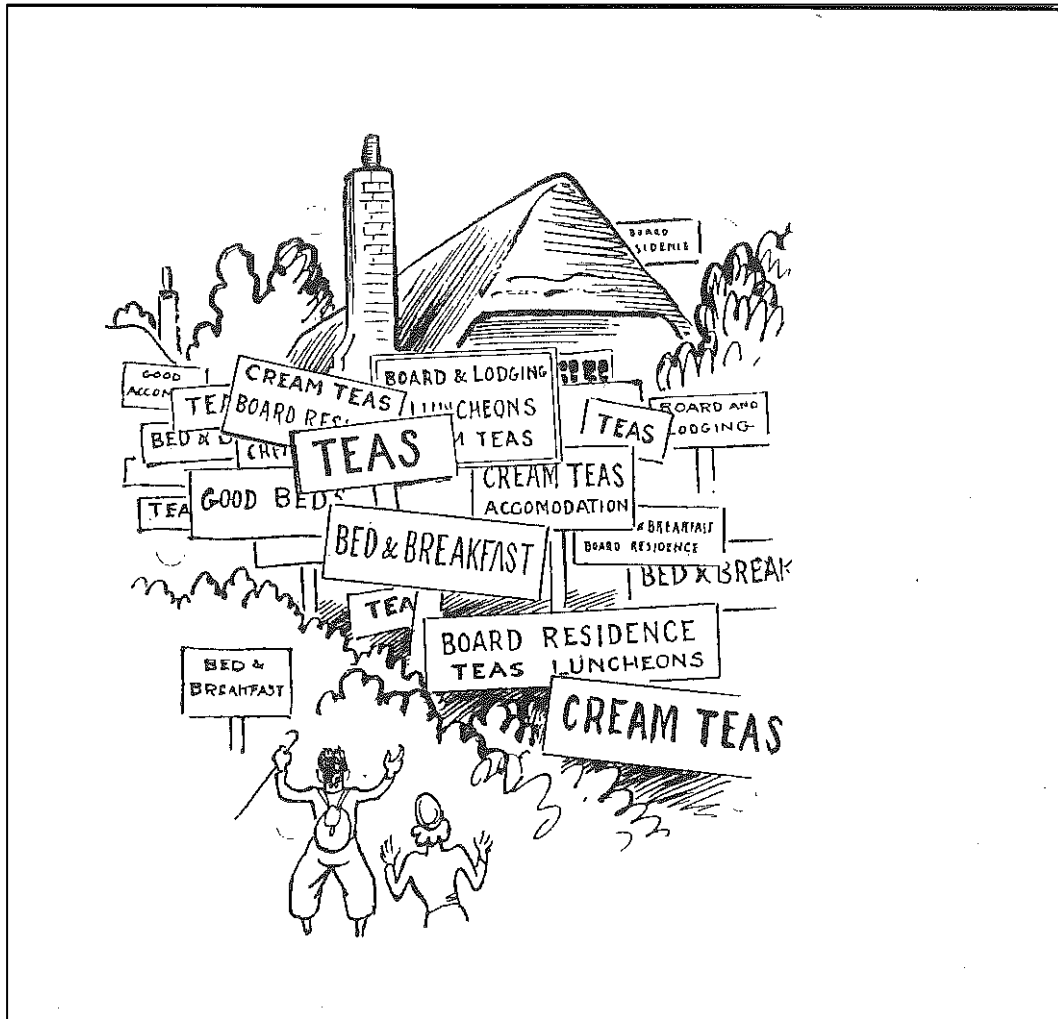


Appendix 9, Devonshire Cream Tea.



The same image is also sold with the caption, 'West Country Cream Tea' so can be seen in Devon, Cornwall, Somerset and Dorset.

## Appendix, 10



Tourists' impression of Devon.....

Tourists were reassured that Devonshire is a wonderfully varied playground, and that, 'when day is done there a Bed and Breakfast, or a tea waiting for the tired reveller'.pp.38 – 39.

H.M Bateman, c. 1940 *On the Move in England*. London. Hutchinson and Co, Ltd.